

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 167

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • SEPTEMBER 25, 1948

NUMBER 13

The Shape of Things

THE RESIGNATION OF AAKE ORDING AS head of the United Nations Appeal for Children will serve principally, we hope, to draw attention to the fact that the failure of the United States adequately to support U. N. A. C. is one of the most shameful chapters in our recent history. The State Department was largely unconcerned about the world's 230,000,000 sick, poorly clothed, and hungry children; it was not too willing, in fact, to see *all* children helped. So eight members of the Economic and Social Council last week, following the lead of the American delegate, voted to abandon the international relief project that Mr. Ording had planned two years ago as a replacement for the expiring UNRRA. But American culpability seeps far down from the top levels: less than 10 per cent of the \$60,000,000 quota for this country was subscribed, and that by only 1,000,000 Americans. By way of contrast, Iceland had donated over \$4 apiece to U. N. A. C. for every man, woman, and child in the country. The failure of the United States to be kindled with the enthusiasm of the rest of the world can be attributed generally to our wealth and immaturity, specifically to weaknesses in the administration of the U. N. A. C. program in this country. An analysis by Mr. Ording of what happened to U. N. A. C. in the United States and in the United Nations will be presented in our next issue. By the time it is before our readers, its author will be in Paris, fighting in the General Assembly for restoration of his program. It was to be able to make that fight as a private individual that he resigned his post. Every decent person in the world will hope that he wins it. ✕

THE NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION, which is engaged in a comprehensive study of "the causes of industrial peace," has reported on one of the cases it has examined, that of the West Coast paper industry where there has been no stoppage of production for fourteen years. The unions and the management have settled their own disputes without outside intervention. The unions have been secure in their status, not fearful of attacks by management. Negotiations have been expeditious, and contracts have been religiously observed. Subjects discussed have covered a wide range. The prin-

cipals have conducted the negotiations in person, and have shown a high respect for each other. And, of course, the workers have enjoyed substantial benefits. The only thing which seems to threaten this highly successful example of collective bargaining is the Taft-Hartley act, which may upset the secure status of the unions, now operating on an industry-wide basis, by the preference which it extends to craft bargaining units. The chairman of the committee which rendered this report, Clinton S. Golden, was formerly an official of the C. I. O.; the unions concerned are affiliated with the A. F. of L.

✕

IT MAY BE GOOD POLITICS, JUST BEFORE AN election, to bring an anti-trust suit against the big-four packers at a time when meat prices are high, but we may be sure that the action is not the result of a sudden inspiration. Such cases are carefully prepared by months or years of research on the part of government lawyers and economists. Unfortunately, they take still longer to wend their weary way through the courts; we shall be lucky if this one is finally decided before the election of 1952 rolls around, or before food prices have touched bottom once more. Whether the packers are guilty as charged is for the courts to decide. But we should be greatly surprised if what the consumer pays for meat is, in the end, much reduced by any action to restore competition which the courts may order. Most of the benefit from the high meat prices of recent months has gone to the farmers, as the Department of Agriculture has reported. The packers' profits are derived mainly from large volume of sales and from by-products. One of the express purposes of the suit, moreover, is to restore competition, not merely in selling, but in buying from the farmers; during a shortage caused by heavy demand, competition among buyers tends to increase the price, not to reduce it. We have no love for private monopoly, and big business should be forced to obey the law. Trial of the suit will doubtless turn up much valuable information. But don't expect beef at lower prices next week.

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DESPITE RUMBLES FROM THE GREEK POLICE indicating that a "solution" is near in the case of George Polk, American newspapermen are preparing to send a team of three reporters to Greece to conduct an independent investigation into his murder last May. No great

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The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1948, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$6; Two years \$10; Three years \$14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

faith must be placed in anything turned up by the Greek police; even before their investigation began, one officer announced that "we are 1,000 per cent sure that the Communists killed George Polk." Edward R. Murrow, news analyst of CBS, broadcast recently that "the case . . . is still wide open," and even General William J. Donovan, who several months ago investigated the Greek investigators and whitewashed them, now accuses the Greek government of failing "to explore all the political possibilities" of the killing. The Newsmen's Commission to Investigate the Murder of George Polk has selected John Donovan, Constantine Poulos, and William R. Polk to explore those and all other possibilities. It is a good team: Donovan is NBC's Middle Eastern correspondent and was a close friend of Polk's; Poulos, who has recently returned from two years in Greece for the Overseas News Agency, is known to readers of *The Nation* as an imaginative and painstaking reporter; "Bill" Polk, a former correspondent of the *Rome Daily American*, is George Polk's younger brother. The team has received clearance for the trip to Greece from the United States State Department and the Greek Under Secretary for Press and Information. All that is needed now is the money to send the three men to Greece: the commission is trying to raise \$10,000 for this purpose. One substantial contribution has been received from Prince Peter of Greece, the King's young cousin, who knew Polk well and wants his murderer found to protect other militant newspapermen from a similar fate. Americans who feel the same way may send checks to the Newsmen's Commission to Investigate the Murder of George Polk, 133 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City.

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THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD HAS TAKEN some of the measures to discourage expansion of bank loans authorized by the recent session of Congress. First, it issued an order renewing the restrictions on instalment credit to consumers which were in effect during the war. Now it has increased the percentage of member-bank reserves which must be deposited in the Federal Reserve Banks. Temporarily, this may make the banks more reluctant to lend, since it has the immediate effect of adding to the reserve requirements nearly two billion dollars which could otherwise serve as the basis for loans of nearly twelve billion. But the effect must be more psychological than anything else, since the banks can promptly replenish their reserves again by selling government securities to the Reserve banks. As long as it is the policy of the Reserve banks to buy these securities in order to maintain their value, it will be impossible for the Reserve authorities to exert much actual pressure for the restitution of bank credit, either by changes in reserve requirements or by raising the discount rate. For the member banks possess many billions in government bonds, and

can raise all the cash they may want for years to come by the simple process of selling them at the value sustained by the very same central banks which are trying to restrict lending.

Unity for What?

THERE has recently been a good deal of ill-informed chatter about the project for Western European federation. Why do not the peoples concerned at once cut the Gordian knot, it is asked, by setting up a European parliament? And Walter Lippmann takes up the thesis, set forth long before the war by that apostle of competitive private enterprise, Friedrich Hayek, that international federation is impossible under socialism because Socialist regimes must exercise so much control that diverse and separated peoples will never delegate sufficient power to an international center of authority. Socialist Britain, it appears, is the obstacle now. In order to get the desired European unity, it is necessary to put Winston Churchill and the Tories back into office.

This sort of talk blithely disregards much that the sciences of government and economics have learned during the past half-century. In the present defense of representative democracy against its authoritarian enemies, we are inclined to forget that democracy is far from perfect. This is particularly true of legislatures. Democracy has worked passably well in handling its ever more complex and recurrently critical problems where, as in the

United States or Britain, it has managed to produce a strong executive with at least some continuity. France is an eminent example of the opposite. Nothing would, at this juncture of Europe's history, do more to block progress and forestall any real degree of unity than a European parliament, elected by the usual democratic devices and unaccompanied by an executive with true prestige and a strong popular mandate.

We have also learned that the task of modern government, if it is to be well conducted, demands a host of far-reaching and expert administrative agencies. These agencies may derive their authority from the sovereignty of the government which is responsible for them, but sovereignty is only the beginning of the story. The agencies have important jobs to do, and as time passes they develop knowledge and methods which endure, and by which the really important governmental tasks are carried on while one group of elected officials succeeds another.

Europe has recently developed agencies of this sort with a dizzying speed, under the joint authority of normally separate national governments. The work of the Economic Commission for Europe under the U. N. has recently been described in these pages. The various bodies operating under the European Recovery Program, together with the other functional agencies in which the United States is a participant—the Monetary Fund, the International Bank, the projected International Trade Organization, and the rest—these are the blood and nerves of international government, and it is precisely



London Express—Canada Wide

in Europe that they have made the most headway. There already exists enough international government to create them, to set them in motion, and to facilitate their operation.

It is true that much more remains to be done than has already been accomplished. National governments still control such things as taxes and budgets, credit policy, rationing, wages and prices—in so far as these things are controlled. Shrewd and effective planning of such economic elements are essential to European recovery, as those who have responsibility in it continually emphasize. But surely it is the depth of absurdity to contend that a government that already handles such problems honestly and well, like that of Britain, should surrender its power so that it may unite organically with France and Italy, which have yet shown no such competence.

Parliamentary democracy is no automatic cure-all for the troubles that now beset the world. We hope that it may prove equal to its formidable task, but if Europe should surrender what advances it has made in planning in order to obtain a weak and incompetent federation over a wider geographical area, it would have enhanced chaos for the sake of a slogan. The building of international government of the type now needed is a desperately serious business in which too much haste could mean too little speed.

The Chips Are Down

ALTHOUGH the Moscow conversations on Germany have not, as we write, been formally ended, hope that they will accomplish anything is dead. Stalin has gone on vacation, and Molotov is hardly likely to yield more in his absence than his presence. At the last meeting between him and the Western envoys, the latter complained that Marshal Sokolovsky had blocked all efforts to work out a program of four-power currency control in Berlin. As a result, the "agreement in principle" on the use of the Soviet mark throughout Berlin, reached in Moscow, was being nullified.

Diplomatically, the three Westerners implied that the Marshal had been ignoring his instructions and asked Molotov to spank him. But it is inconceivable that even so eminent a Soviet officer would disregard orders from Moscow, and it is only realistic to assume that he had been told, in fact, to render the agreement ineffective. The question, therefore, arises: Why has the Russian government, which at the beginning of this month appeared ready for a deal, adopted a more uncompromising position than ever?

Joseph C. Harsch, writing in the *Christian Science Monitor*, suggests one plausible answer. It is that the prolonged political crisis in France has revealed a soft spot on the Western front for the Soviet strategists to exploit.

With France disarmed by internal strife, it can be argued, the United States and Britain will hesitate to force the Berlin issue in a way that might lead to war.

Certainly, the current weakness of France detracts from the strength of the united Western front, and it may be that Soviet calculations on these lines will prove sound. But we hope Moscow will not overlook the significance of the British government's decision to slow down demobilization and to double production of first-line fighter planes. The Labor Cabinet, we can be sure, took these steps most reluctantly, for they are bound to interfere with the British recovery program.

This week, Sir Stafford Cripps has been able to report that the target rate of exports for 1948 has been reached and that Britain's deficit on international account was radically reduced this year and is now of manageable proportions. He warned, however, that there could be no relaxation of effort, and the truth is that Britain's economic margin of existence remains dangerously narrow. It cannot afford to support the armament standard it now has, still less to raise it. Yet the government feels that the international position is such that "it has no choice but to take certain precautionary measures." While this does not mean that London assumes war to be inevitable, it must indicate a belief that the risks are increasing.

In spite of the failure of the Moscow talks, it is not our belief that the Western powers are immediately considering direct action on the Berlin front. More probably, an appeal will be made, in the first place, to the United Nations Assembly. But however effective that may prove from the propaganda point of view, we should be surprised if it made Moscow any more willing to compromise. In the second place, America and Britain are likely to intensify economic sanctions against Russia and its satellites. Already, the embargo on trade between western and eastern Germany has created trouble for the Russians, who are hard put to maintain supplies of raw materials and employment in their zone. Nevertheless, this blockade must prove a two-edged weapon, for as we have frequently pointed out in these columns, the reduction of commercial exchanges between Western and Eastern Europe hinders the recovery of both.

A third possible move by the Western powers is an increase in the air lift—one of the most effective weapons at their disposal. In addition to keeping western Berlin alive, it has provided a daily advertisement of American and British air power that has impressed all Europe, not excluding the Russians, who, despite many threats, have refrained from serious interference with Western transports. This in itself indicates that they are not anxious to precipitate armed conflict. They are hoping, perhaps, that the timely aid of General Winter will make it impossible to keep Berlin warm and its factories operating during the coming months.

That, perhaps, will provide the crucial test. If, de-

spite all difficulties, we can continue to render the siege of Berlin ineffective, the Soviets may become more accommodating. But if cold and fog and snow defeat us, we shall have to decide whether to get out or to take entirely new steps. The first alternative has become practically impossible. Unwisely, perhaps, we have staked everything on maintaining our position in Berlin; so that to retire now would be to grant a victory to the Soviets that would open the way for new advances.

If the air lift proves insufficient, the advocates of armed convoys as a method of relieving Berlin may have their opportunity. Reinhold Niebuhr, writing in the current issue of *Life*, reports that he found Europeans ready for this direct challenge to Russia. They do not believe it would mean war, he says, because the Soviet Union is not prepared to fight. We are not quite so confident. Certainly, the British and French governments definitely rejected the convoy project when it was first mooted in June. Moreover, while it may be true, as Mr. Niebuhr asserts, that Soviet "truculence is a sign of weakness rather than strength," their very weakness might compel them to fight rather than suffer the loss of prestige incurred by acquiescing in the forcible relief of Berlin.

Consequently, while we believe, as we said last week, that neither side wants war, the risks of a clash cannot be idly dismissed. That the issues involved could be compromised, given the will, cannot be gainsaid. But it may be that the Soviet government will refuse to compromise until it is convinced that the alternative is war. The problem of the Western powers, therefore, is to demonstrate their determination to hold their ground without asking steps that would make conflict inevitable.

The Death of Bernadotte

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

Haifa, September 19 (By Radio)

THIS morning, at the Haifa airfield, I watched the bodies of Counte Folke Bernadotte and his assistant, Colonel André Pierre Serot, being put aboard a snow-white transport plane bearing the letters "U. N." on its sides. An Israeli honor guard stood at attention; beside it were officers and men of the United Nations Mediator's staff. A sober group of government officials and a small collection of passengers waiting to take off for Rome and Paris watched as the Dakota lifted from the runway and headed for Rhodes. It left behind it incalculable new difficulties for the state of Israel.

Freda Kirchwey, who was in Israel at the time of the Bernadotte assassination, is now in Paris for the opening sessions of the U. N. meeting. She will return to the United States shortly.

When the news of the assassination reached us at Haifa the night before last, the people I talked with seemed physically stunned. I spent that evening at the home of an official of the Israeli Foreign Office; other people in and close to the government were also there. All agreed that the assassination was a brutal and irresponsible assault on the new state and on its hope of winning a decent settlement at the Paris meeting of the U. N. They knew how quickly the enemies of Israel would turn the tragedy to political account to bolster their charges that the Jewish government is unable effectively to administer the country.

Members of the U. N. mission were themselves fostering hostility toward Israel in the statements they made to the press shortly after the killings. Both Dr. Ralph J. Bunche and General Aage Lundstroem used language obviously intended to throw suspicion on the Israeli government and military forces. Lundstroem described the attack as a hold-up by "a Jewish-army-type jeep" carrying men in Jewish army uniforms. Yesterday, at a press conference at the Zion Hotel in Haifa, where I am staying, General Lundstroem repeated these words. Reporters questioned him sharply, asking what distinguished a Jewish army jeep from any other, since all are of American manufacture and bear a strong resemblance to each other; and how, the reporters asked, can the Jewish army uniform be distinguished from the khaki shirts and shorts in general use here. Lundstroem hedged at this point, and left the impression that the U. N. personnel who were with Bernadotte could not possibly know whether the assassins were soldiers or members of the Stern gang or of some other dissident terrorist group that rejects any subordination to the authority of the government of Israel.

That the crime was committed by army men is unthinkable and should never have been suggested. The discipline in all units that have been consolidated with the Israeli forces is excellent, and their loyalty is beyond question. Informed persons are convinced that the attack was made by a fanatic as a protest against the failure of the U. N. mission to prevent the mounting Arab attacks and to end the virtual siege of Jerusalem, which still holds the city under shell and mortar fire and which prevents the shipment of an adequate supply of food and water. Bernadotte's proposal to turn Jerusalem over to the Arabs was regarded as the final evidence of bad faith on the part of the Mediator. All shades of Jewish opinion agree in criticizing the Count's record, but only a handful of extremists would dream of dealing with the situation by the use of violence. All thoughts had been concentrated on the effort to bring the realities to the attention of the world at the Paris session. Now, this act of irresponsible terror diminishes that possibility. No wonder the government's statement of last night described the assassination as "an attack on the authority of the United Nations and

a calculated assault on the sovereignty of the state of Israel," and denounced the perpetrators of the act as "traitors to the people, and enemies of its liberty."

Today, I learn that not one of the seventy-odd suspects rounded up in Jerusalem thus far is an Israeli soldier; but most are of military age, and several are actual deserters.

Too Many People?

RECENT conventions in Washington of the American Chemical Society and the American Association for the Advancement of Science—both of which gave considerable attention to basic food and population problems—cast some of the penetrating and objective lighting of science upon the confused political, economic, and military issues which daily make the headlines in the newspapers.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science was celebrating its centenary, and the presence of old Malthus, the population man, was strongly felt, somewhat as the shadow of Karl Marx falls across politics in this centennial year of the Communist Manifesto. The scientists, like their contemporaries in politics, found themselves confronting the fact that man lives today in a fourth-dimensional world of his own creation, the problems and dangers of which are complex beyond the most desperate imaginings of the restless nineteenth-century intellects who set this hundred-year saturnalia of technology in motion.

What these physicists, astronomers, biologists, and chemists seemed to be saying, in substance, was that man as a technician has at last broken through the barriers of his external environment, yet remains the brutish captive of his own primitive tribal self. Having mastered the forces of nature, he is turning them—with a malice and premeditation lacking in nature—against himself, and against the land, and against the very atmosphere. Even his heroic services to life in the fields of medicine, surgery, and sanitation—as one of the scientists said—are proving to be a mockery, for they are helping to overcrowd a planet already on starvation rations.

In another paper Dr. Fairfield Osborn of New York reported that the world's population already has outgrown the amount of arable land. The population is now two billion, and the total arable acreage is but four billion—not enough by a billion to allow the two and a half acres for each person necessary to provide a subsistence diet. Professor Stanley A. Cain of Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, posed the problem plainly. "Men everywhere," he said, "must face squarely the dual problem of the conservation of natural resources and the limitation of population or continue along the path, with an accelerating rate, toward self-destruction."

Yet hope springs eternal, even among men of science, and several specialists in radiation and plant chemistry foresaw new sources of food that might make man's future less bleak. Dr. Farrington Daniels of the University of Wisconsin said that mankind eventually will learn how to produce food through direct use of solar radiation in much the same manner that the green chlorophyll in plant leaves converts water and carbondioxide into starches and sugars by means of sunlight. No technique to accomplish this synthetically has yet been discovered, he said, but the basic theoretical knowledge has already been mastered and a great research program somewhat on the order of the atomic project would eventually produce a workable process.

Touching on advances being made, Dr. Daniels said that Department of Agriculture chemists have found a way to convert wood into sugar by the use of sulfuric acid at high temperatures. About 70 per cent of most woods can be converted, and the sugars can be used for growing edible yeasts "which are richer in proteins than beefsteak." A report from Washington and Oregon State College on a feeding experiment said that pigs and poultry have grown fat and healthy on a diet of wood sugars obtained by the acid method. The sugar is in the form of a crude, sour molasses unfit for human consumption, but the pigs like it. It can be produced commercially, according to the scientists, at \$18 to \$20 a ton, which is only 50 to 70 per cent of the cost of grain feed with an equal nutritional value. The practical development of such a food source might prove of inestimable benefit to languishing regions like the piney-woods areas of the South, where endless miles of infertile stump fields and weathering hills of sawdust stand as monuments to a lumbering industry that came, grasped, and moved on.

AN UNIDENTIFIED woman attending the scientific centenary provided one more dreary illustration that human irrationality is the real source of the destructiveness latent in scientific progress. Turning her attention for a moment from the somber messages of the scientists and philosophers on the platform, she noticed that the dark-skinned Ethiopian Minister, Ras H. S. Imru, was sitting with the white gentry in the diplomatic guest section. She called an usher and directed him to show the man into another section. The usher complied, and the astounded Ethiopian Minister left the meeting.

Two days later this had become another embarrassing diplomatic incident. The State Department expressed its regrets. Dr. Harlow Shapley, retiring head of the scientific group, said he was "ashamed beyond words that such an incident could and did occur." The first secretary of the Ethiopian legation said, "We did not expect any such thing to happen in the United States and particularly in Washington."

The association pointed out that the usher came with the hall. This was Constitution Hall, owned and operated by the D. A. R., and similar incidents have occurred there in the past. Why can't these ladies hold one big meeting and take measures to prevent the recurrence of such an incident? They have received more bad publicity from their stiff-necked and unnecessary attitude on this question than a decade of gracious but synthetic public relations will ever undo.

One wonders what the unidentified woman who had the minister ejected was doing in that gathering of far-ranging, objective intellects. N. W. E.

[In a coming issue Leonard Engel will discuss the far-reaching implications of some of the facts brought out at the meeting of scientists.]

M. Queuille Tries His Hand

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, September 16

I THINK I am in a position to report the views of the Queuille government on its chances of staying in power, for I have just had an interesting off-the-record talk with one of the Cabinet members. His opinion, apparently, is shared by most of his colleagues. It is this: "If the three basic problems—wages and prices, currency stabilization, and maintenance of public order—do not come to a head simultaneously, we can ride out the storm. If we cannot separate them, we shall move directly toward new elections, with all the dangers they represent in the present critical situation."

His words sum up the tragic failure of the Third Force. For the three capital problems of post-war France always do break simultaneously; successive centrist governments have found it impossible to tackle them one by one. When the ministers are trying to force down food prices, a new set of wage demands is dropped into the middle of their deliberations; when they think they have stabilized the currency, at least momentarily, the Bank of France reports a new paper-money issue that sends the franc plummeting again; just when they are on the point of a settlement with the trade unions, a fresh wave of strikes rocks the country.

The very morning of my talk with the minister, the three problems fused and exploded: the price of bread rose almost a third; the gold boom continued, as overnight the napoleon went from 5,300 francs to 5,650, while the dollar hit a new high of 420 francs on the so-called "parallel market"; on the Boulevard Haussman repeated clashes between police and some 6,000 striking aviation workers resulted in over sixty casualties, the

strike at the Renault automobile plant continued, and Air France had to cancel most of its flights because the airfield employees had walked out. In the face of mounting agitation, both in Paris and the provinces, Prime Minister Queuille declared, "The wage question can be solved only when we have reestablished a healthy financial situation." Later that day he added, "I am the man who is trying to put out a fire by directing the hose against the worst flames—those of inflation."

During my talk with the Cabinet member I asked him, "Don't you think that if the workers were represented in the government, they would grant you the necessary time to handle the problems one by one, as you suggest?" "What do you mean?" he asked. "Just this," I answered. "A return to a tripartite government made up of the Socialists, the M. R. P., and the Communists, plus those Radicals and others who might reexamine their position in the light of the grave situation." "Out of the question," he replied tersely. "Even if the parties consented, there would still be complications of an international character."

His answer confirmed what all Paris has long been saying: that the reentry of the Communists into the government would bring American aid to an immediate halt. However, he added something I had not heard before. "The Americans," he said, "tend to interpret the Monnet Plan too literally, and at the slightest deviation from the letter of the text they complain that we are not doing our part to speed French recovery. But the Monnet Plan was intended simply as an orientation program; many new developments have taken place since it was first formulated." His remarks implied no real criticism of the United States; one sensed, rather, a certain regret that France's present difficulties are not fully appreciated on the other side of the Atlantic.

Free of the restraints imposed by an official position, Rémy Roure, chief editorialist of *Le Monde*, reacted more sharply to the critical comments of the New York press, attributing them to a lack of imagination.

While Queuille, a veteran in parliamentary procedure, maneuvered successfully in the Chamber to postpone until Monday interpellations on the composition of his Cabinet, General de Gaulle set out on another speaking tour in the south of France. In Paris, his propaganda chief, André Malraux, has launched a kind of referendum by stamps, "*pour le salut public*." People are being urged to buy these stamps at fifty francs apiece and mail them to the General as an expression of popular support. I also carried my investigation into the Gaullist camp and can report two attitudes there. The extremists are certain that the General will be back in power within two months, even without elections. They are counting on a decisive shift of forces within the National Assembly, and certain recent indications would tend to justify their optimism. In his first test in the Assembly, Queuille ob-

tained a seven-vote majority, and the opposition gained thirty votes. Unless the government can offer a program showing immediate substantial economies to offset the new fiscal burdens, this majority is likely to evaporate rapidly. Already Socialist support appears to be hanging by a thread. In that case, the impatient Gaullists assert,

the General will have enough support among the deputies to justify his being invited by President Auriol to form a new government. More moderate and experienced Gaullists believe elections will be necessary to put the General in office, and they do not minimize the popular opposition his government is bound to face.

Dossiers for the Millions

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, September 17

THE extent to which spy-hunting and loyalty investigations have become "big business" within the federal framework has been obscured by the volume of sensational publicity which has been focused in recent months upon selected individuals at well-staged public hearings. Yet these headlined hearings, for all their well-timed disclosures and page-one confrontation scenes, are no more than colorful and dramatic incidents upon the surface of a historical trend. The entire government is becoming involved in police work to an extent unprecedented in American history, and a new kind of bureaucracy—the bureaucracy of security police—is in process of formation.

Every government department in Washington now has its board of investigators. In especially "sensitive" agencies engaged in foreign operations, such as the State Department and the Economic Cooperation Administration, these security groups are usually headed and largely staffed by former FBI agents and other investigative specialists. Official files contain literally millions of personal "dossiers"—the word itself is a Continental police term which has no exact equivalent in English. The House Un-American Activities Committee reports that it has a list of more than 700,000 suspected individuals and organizations. The FBI has a list at least as long.

At the beginning of the current year the Civil Service Commission had flagged the names of approximately 90,000 federal employees for further investigation. A check of civil-service lists against the FBI list had revealed some challenging or derogatory information against each one. Though the great majority have apparently since been cleared—so an FBI statistical report released this week would indicate—the large number of these "flagged" employees shows the volume of investigative work that is going on in Washington. The sardonic phrase, "a fat file," has entered into the civil-service employee's parlance; and for a person burdened with one the job-hunting is not so good these days.

The FBI announced this week that its own preliminary loyalty checks had cleared 2,110,521 federal employees without the necessity of full investigation. Full investiga-

tions had been instituted in 6,344 cases, of which 5,421 had been completed. During these investigations 619 employees resigned and 44 others were found to be no longer employed. The remaining cases have been turned over to the Civil Service Commission for final action.

How much of this police work is necessary and how many of its secret and arbitrary procedures are justified by realistic considerations of national security is of course a matter of opinion. Yet the federal employee who holds a vigorous and critical opinion on this subject does wisely in these times to keep it to himself. In Washington this is an era when yea-saying is the safest course and independence of thought is at a drastic discount.

The Presidential campaign unfortunately has tended to submerge the clear-cut issues of security beneath the vague and scurrilous contentions of partisan politicians. Since the Republican campaign strategy is based almost wholly upon agitation of the Communist issue, President Truman himself has been forced to take on the confused and difficult task of functioning both as an alert defender of the national security and as critic and exposé of the elaborate Republican subterfuges based on the spy hysteria.

In an important speech this week at the centennial meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the President dealt with one little-publicized aspect of national security. His speech was important, aside from all political considerations, because it lent the weight of his office to recent warnings by leading scientists that the House Un-American Activities Committee was itself jeopardizing military security by frightening atomic physicists away from and out of government employment. A few days after the President spoke, the Oak Ridge Association of Engineers and Scientists reported that approximately 40 per cent of the top personnel at the plant had resigned recently and that research activities had been proportionately reduced. (The plant director denied this, placing the net loss of personnel during the past year at 15 out of 500.) On the day this report was issued a special committee of the Federation of American Scientists said in Chicago that fifty-six scientists had been victimized by "unfair clearance pro-

cedures": they had left good jobs to take up government research only to be told within a few weeks or months that their clearances were temporary and had been revoked. Even without the figures put out by these groups, it is abundantly clear that the Un-American Activities Committee regards scientists as an especially suspect category.

In the field of civil liberties Washington today is witnessing a serious erosion of the trial right of accused persons and a marked change in long-accepted methods of determining subversiveness. Most defense attorneys who have presented cases before the Civil Service loyalty boards seem to believe that the board members themselves have not attempted to abuse or expand the ominous new principle of "guilt by association." The Civil Service boards consider the membership of an employee in a listed subversive organization as substantive but not *prima facie* evidence of disloyalty. The actual circumstances of his membership are taken into consideration. Defense attorneys have won numerous cases by establishing that the membership was of brief duration, that the accused was ignorant of the organization's real nature, or that he quit in protest against Communist infiltration.

But several of these lawyers have expressed concern over a far more stringent application of the "guilt by association" principle which was written into the act establishing the Economic Cooperation Administration. The

ECA act states flatly that the agency's security board must certify of each employee that he "is not now and never has been a member" of any listed organization. No matter what the circumstances may have been, the fact of membership stands as *prima facie* evidence of disloyalty.

A number of these lawyers have suggested that the government should appoint a general defense staff from whom accused employees might get immediate help through simple and well-defined procedures. At present, these lawyers say, many clerks and office workers who might easily furnish proofs of loyalty do not even make the effort. Overcome by fright and embarrassment when they get their first summons to a security hearing, they simply quit.

It has also been suggested by some of these lawyers that President Truman appoint a commission of outstanding legal authorities, including a number of Republicans from unimpeachably conservative backgrounds, to review the whole complex issue of loyalty and security. Such a commission—free from the stigma of partisan politics—might be able to bulwark the crumbling principles of civil liberty and give the public a rational picture of the actual scope of the Communist danger. The proponents of this idea point to the example of the British royal commissions which are created in times of crisis to study threatening and confused developments and report their findings to the public.

Israel: the Making of a State

BY I. D. W. TALMADGE

THE state of Israel, unlike Rome, was built in a day. Within twenty-four hours after the British pulled out, the Jews had a fully functioning state. They had a Cabinet and a Provisional Parliament. From nowhere they produced an army, an air force, and even a sizable naval fleet. Before the last Tommy had stepped aboard the last ship for England, an effective Jewish government was in operation—complete from Prime Minister down to sanitation inspector.

Overnight a new, prefabricated structure of administration was erected. Jewish personnel moved in and took over the offices and bureaus vacated by the British. Essential government services were hardly interrupted. Everything went off smoothly as planned. The schools opened as usual, the buses ran on time, the mail was delivered on schedule. The hospitals, the factories, the

telephone exchange—all continued to work as if nothing had happened.

Only, where the Union Jack flew the day before, the new standard of the Republic of Israel was unfurled. And the signs on the government buildings were repainted in Hebrew characters. A new seal bore the inscription "Medinat Isroel"—"State of Israel." By the next day the new-born state even had its own postage stamps.

Today, four months later, that hastily installed government is still functioning. It is, indisputably, the most stable regime in the Middle East. It has survived the armed attack of six sovereign states. The secret of its success is simple. The government of Israel is a democratic government receiving the unswerving support of the people.

There is amazingly little red tape and even less pomp and protocol. Members of the Cabinet work in their shirt sleeves, without ties. At first there was too much informality. People would drop in to have a *schmüss* with Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion or Foreign Min-

I. D. W. TALMADGE, foreign-affairs editor of *Scholastic*, returned two weeks ago from a special trip to Israel for that magazine and for U. S. News.



Moshe Shertok

ister Moshe Shertok and suggest to them how to run the government. That had to be stopped. But even today a session of the Provisional Parliament resembles a meeting of the executive board of a trade union more than of a national legislative body.

Fourteen political parties, including the puny Communist Party, are represented in the Provisional Parliament, or State Council. The Communists have one representative among the thirty-seven members. As one legislator explained to me, "We can't give them less than one seat." It is not uncommon for the Prime Minister to be outvoted in

the Israeli Parliament. But as becomes a democratic leader of a democratic state, Ben-Gurion takes it graciously. Even in war time Israel is not a dictatorial state. Any suggestion of totalitarianism is repugnant to the Jewish masses. Accordingly, strikes were not outlawed despite the desperate struggle for national survival.

I talked with an official of the Ministry of Police. "The outgoing government can scarcely be said to have handed over to us any central police organization," he told me. But by the end of last month about 100 officers, 70 N. C. O.'s, and 1,300 men had been trained and posted. "The Israeli police is still at less than half strength," this official continued. "For example, the department cannot provide more than twelve men for night patrol in all of Tel Aviv. It is noteworthy, however, that crimes of violence in Israel are some 30 per cent lower than they were a year ago in the towns and 50 per cent lower in the rural areas."

The Israeli Ministry of Finance took over the financial functions of the state without any gap or hitch—an achievement which would have been astonishing even had there been sympathetic cooperation from the outgoing authority. As a result of careful preparation beforehand, income tax, customs, and excise duties were collected without interruption. Even in the first crowded days the Ministry initiated action in fields where the Mandatory Government had been in default. Immediately after the declaration of the Israeli state a national loan was launched for 5,000,000 Palestinian pounds. This loan has already been subscribed.

A special Ministry of Minorities was set up in the

Cabinet under the able leadership of Behor Shitreet. Its purpose is to defend the interests of the Arab and Christian minorities in Israel and to promote friendly relations among the three religious communities. One of its main principles is the encouragement of autonomous institutions among the Arabs. Arab schools have been reopened. An Arab newspaper is now published in Israel. Even during the fighting the Israeli government appointed Arabs to police Arab areas in Palestine.

IN THE new state of Israel synagogue and state are separate and will continue to be so under the proposed constitution. Saturday is the day of rest instead of Sunday—and that's about all that makes Tel Aviv any different from an American city. Synagogue attendance in Israel is about as good, or bad, as church attendance in America. Dietary laws are not universally observed. Some restaurants serve *kosher* meals, others don't. The story is told—it is probably apocryphal—that the Arabs, who are not permitted to eat pork, raise hogs to sell to their Jewish neighbors.

A draft constitution for the state of Israel is patterned on the American model and guarantees freedom of expression, worship, assembly, and association. The preamble to the proposed basic law of Israel asseverated that "the state shall insure the sanctity of human life and uphold the dignity of man." An interesting innovation in the projected constitution is a clause which provides that freedom of expression shall not be accorded to movements which advocate the suppression of the democratic form of government. Among provisions being considered for inclusion are guaranties for a national system of compulsory unemployment, old-age, and health insurance; equal pay for men and women; prohibition of child labor; and minimum hours of employment for women in industry.

Israel is the most eastern of the Western democracies. Its destiny is in the hands of a party (the Mapai) which is the very counterpart of the British Labor Party. Both are affiliated with the Second International. They have the same basic ideology. Reshuffle Morrison, Attlee, Shertok, Ben-Gurion, and you could not say where each belonged. (Bevin, to be sure, is a case by himself: his anti-Jewish bias can be explained only in psychiatric terms.) On all issues save Palestine the Labor parties of Palestine and Britain see eye to eye. And ironically enough, the difference of opinion on Palestine developed only when the British party came to power. The people of Israel are more bitter against the British Labor Party than against Britain itself. They were let down by their own brothers, so to speak. In all its election campaigns British Labor had championed the cause of a Jewish state in Palestine. One Israeli government official said to me dourly, "It would have been better for us if Winston Churchill had remained in power. Then we could have

counted on the Labor Party in opposition to prod him into fulfilling Britain's pledges."

How Socialist is the new state of Israel? It is certainly as Socialist as Australia or New Zealand or England itself. The bus you board in Tel Aviv or Haifa, the Tnuva restaurant where you eat, the shop where you buy your clothes, the factory where the clothes are made are for the most part owned by the Histadrut, the General Federation of Jewish Labor. And so are the leading bank and the largest insurance company. In fact, the Histadrut controls almost a fourth of the national economy. Its membership comprises nearly half of the adult population.

Moreover, most of the country's agriculture is collectivized. In the *kibbutzim* (farming communes) all property is owned in common and all members contribute and share alike. But unlike the Soviet system, there is no coercion in the communes, no party functionaries to lay down the "line," no threats of imprisonment or exile. One is free to join or quit a commune at will. To compare a *kibbutz* to a Soviet *kolkhoz* is like comparing a summer camp to a concentration camp. I know—I have visited both types of collective farm.

SOcialist labor dominates the government and its institutions only by virtue of its electoral strength. It has not set up a dictatorship of the party. There are no fewer than twenty-five political parties in tiny Israel. The strongest of these is the Mapai. In the elections to the twenty-second World Zionist Congress in October, 1946, this party received 35 per cent of the votes cast and in the Histadrut elections 53.7 per cent.

Somewhat to the left of the Mapai stands the Mapham (the United Workers' Party), which came into being in January, 1948, as a result of the merger of two leftist groups. These two groups had together polled 24.5 per cent of the votes cast in the Zionist Congress elections and 38 per cent in the Histadrut balloting. The main strength of the Mapham is in the agricultural collective settlements, though it also has a following among the industrial workers and the intelligentsia. In internal affairs the party favors more rapid and thorough socialization of industry. In the foreign field it favors friendship with Russia. But to regard the Mapham as pro-Communist would be a grievous mistake. Its program is not unlike that of the Independent Labor Party in Britain.

The center in Israeli political life is represented by two parties—the General Zionists and the Aliya Chadasha (New Settlers). They draw their support mainly from the middle-class stratum. At the Zionist Congress elections the former obtained 5.1 per cent of the votes and the latter 6.3 per cent. Both parties generally take a progressive, liberal stand on domestic social issues. They are the middle-of-the-roaders and consider their role to be one of reconciliation between the interests of

the various classes. The General Zionists have strong sister parties in the world Zionist movement outside Palestine, particularly in the United States.

The *Mizrachi* and the *Hapoel Hamizrachi* (Labor Mizrachi) parties are composed of religious Zionists who have striven to found the Jewish state upon the precepts of the Jewish faith. They polled, respectively, 2.6 per cent and 10.1 per cent of the votes in the Zionist Congress elections. The *Agudat Israel* is an ultra-orthodox religious party, some of whose supporters still believe that a Jewish state should not be formed until the coming of the Messiah. Its membership is estimated at 7,000.

At the extreme right is the highly nationalistic Revisionist Party. It favors an all-Jewish Palestine and is composed mainly of middle-class urban elements. At the last Zionist Congress elections it obtained 13.7 per cent of the votes. The Revisionists constitute the main opposition group within the Israeli government.

Finally, there is the Palestine Communist Party, which obediently follows each zigzag of Soviet foreign policy. It lately "reconsidered" its anti-Zionist attitude when Russia came out in favor of a Jewish state. In the last general election the Communists got precisely 3,948 votes—less than 2 per cent of the total.

All these parties plus a half-dozen others are represented in the thirty-seven-man Provisional Parliament. In the Provisional Cabinet four of the thirteen portfolios are held by Mapai, three by Mapham, and the remaining six are divided among the smaller parties.

Not participating in the government are two dissident groups—the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Fighters for Freedom of Israel (the Stern gang). The Irgun claims a following of 6,000 and the Stern organization claims about 1,500. Both groups plan to take part in the coming electoral contest.

The elections to a Constituent Assembly are scheduled to take place in mid-November. The two Socialist parties—the Mapai and the Mapham—are expected to poll jointly about 65 per cent of the total vote.

The infant state of Israel is the youngest member in the family of nations. To the amazement of its United Nations nursemaids, it has turned out to be a tough kid, with a tenacious will to live.



Drawings by Ross
David Ben-Gurion

The Child and the Judge

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

THE "opinion" by which Federal Judge John C. Knox denied Nicolò Tucci's petition for naturalization, if it went unchallenged, would substitute the whims of a judge for the Constitution of the United States.

Nicolò Tucci, born in Italy in 1908, was fourteen years old when the Fascist dictatorship was set up in Italy. He got a Fascist education. He came to this country in December, 1936, filled with Fascist enthusiasm. He got a job in the pro-Fascist Italy America Society and became an official of the Italian consulate. He was in charge of Italian-American "cultural relations," that is, of Fascist propaganda.

In September, 1937, Tucci went back to Italy. But after breathing the American air he was not the same man as before. He was now dissatisfied with many Fascist practices, even if not as yet with Fascist philosophy. The anti-Semitic legislation which was imported from Nazi Germany in 1938 aroused revulsion in him. He helped a considerable number of refugees to leave Italy. However, he was not yet an anti-Fascist. His mind was still in a state of transition when he returned to this country at the end of 1938. And on July 3, 1939, he gave a lecture at the University of Virginia in which Fascist nonsense—philosophical, political, and economic—was abundant.

He finally went anti-Fascist. He contributed articles to the anti-Fascist monthly *Il Mondo* and the anti-Fascist weekly *Le Nazioni Unite*, of which the present Italian ambassador in Washington was the chief editor. In August, 1941, he joined the staff of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, where his task was to explain to the foreign-born in Latin America, and especially to people of Italian and German descent in Argentina, enthusiastically Fascist, why their attitude was wrong.

Every man has a right to make mistakes, especially while he is young, and when he realizes that he was wrong in the past he has a right to change his mind. No one has the right to exact of him that he prove he was never wrong or, years afterward, to punish him for having been wrong.

GAETANO SALVEMINI was professor of modern history at the University of Florence until 1925, when he was arrested as an opponent of Fascism. He was Lauro de Bosis lecturer on the history of Italian civilization at Harvard University from 1935 until this year, when he became professor emeritus.

But behold! In 1948 the American Immigration and Naturalization Service finds in the address delivered by him on July 3, 1939, a reason to maintain that Tucci is not worthy of becoming an American citizen. And an American judge takes seriously such evidence, as if the address had been delivered not in 1939, but in 1948.

After being questioned interminably, Tucci, a sensitive man, upset by tactics which made him ill, impatient and disgusted to the point of crying, admitted to an official of the Immigration and Naturalization Service that he had not been frank in interpreting the contents of his 1939 address, a document he himself had presented to the examiner. When he recovered his wits, Tucci wished to withdraw this "confession," but the official contended that "upon May 29, 1946, [he] wilfully made false statements under oath for the fraudulent purpose of facilitating his admission to citizenship."

Judge Knox disposed of this charge by saying that what mattered was not whether Tucci lied in 1946, but what had been his views on Fascism in 1939 and what they were today. But though the charge of perjury had vanished into thin air, and absolutely no evidence was brought forward to prove Tucci a man of bad moral character, the judge decided that Tucci was not "a person of good moral character." In addition, half of Judge Knox's opinion was concerned with the address of 1939, as if what mattered was Tucci's views on Fascism at that time, not at present.

Tucci had told the official of the Immigration and Naturalization Service that his lecture of 1939 had been "very confused." No wonder. A man brought up in the fog of Hegelian and Fascist philosophy has to make a great effort to get out of it. He will pass through a long trial before he discovers the harbor of Jeffersonian clarity. Tucci's stomach had sensed the stink of Fascism earlier than his brains. In the hearing of February 5, 1948, Tucci reiterated before Judge Knox that his speech of 1939 had been "very confused." Yet those opinions, which after 1940 were things of the past, became—because they had been "very confused"—one of the reasons why Tucci's application for citizenship was refused in 1948. Apparently a federal judge can have "very confused" notions about the importance of chronology in judicial cases. Moreover, is there any federal law which makes it incumbent for American citizens to have clear ideas about political philosophy?

After devoting half of his opinion to the address of 1939, Judge Knox decided that "whatever may be said as to the purpose and intentions" of Tucci in 1939,

"his subsequent writings indicate plainly that he has a low opinion of our form of government and is contemptuous of some of our national and political beliefs."

THE ground for this opinion is found in two articles given to the examiner by Tucci himself, in his almost pathological eagerness to lay bare his thoughts and paradoxical views before people who could not make head or tail of them and were irritated by their own incomprehension—*margaritas ante porcos*. In the first article, published in the magazine *Politics* for October, 1945, Tucci made fun of the statements announcing that the atomic bomb would be employed wisely in the interest of peace-loving nations and the well-being of the world. In Tucci's opinion it would have been more advisable to disperse without speeches the ill-assembled atoms of the present world. It was said that the bomb had saved the lives not only of hundreds of thousands of American soldiers but also of hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers and millions of Japanese people. "For God's sake," said Tucci, "stop saving lives. More birth control and less atomic bombs! The world is crowded enough as it is." The scientists who had worked on the atomic bomb were *slaves and cowards, exactly as the Nazis under Hitler and the Fascists under Mussolini* (the emphasis stems from Judge Knox). Those "crude beasts" (the scientists) will not be deflected from their work because some clergymen protest against the consequences of the bomb. They will not give up "improving" their invention, though everybody realizes that seven hundred thousand years after the great day of the explosion, the little fountain of death will still be there, joyously sprinkling in the air, if there is to be any air by then. If there is any air, there will also be a statesman blabbing nonsense into it.

Judge Knox was scandalized. Tucci's statement, he declared, "constitutes an unfair comparison of the freedom of the scientists under our form of government and under a dictatorship."

During the hearing of October 28, 1946, after being subjected to that device through which the most decent man in the world can be led to state whether he has stopped beating his wife—yes or no—Tucci admitted (1) that scientists working on the atomic bomb "were not free"—which obviously was nonsense, since they had freely agreed to work on it; (2) that scientists who worked on the atomic bomb "had very little to do with democracy, freedom of expression, and criticism from the outside"—which is no nonsense at all, since preparing an atom bomb or a dish of spaghetti has very little to do with democracy, freedom of expression, and criticism from the outside; (3) that "the democratic form of government would entail the right of every citizen to see what the scientists are doing, and to have access to the facts to debate the propriety of the exist-

ence of atomic bombs"—which would be a stupidity if it meant that every citizen was entitled to have access to the secrets of the preparation, but is common sense if it means that the citizens of a free country are entitled to debate the moral and political responsibility of using the atom bomb; and (4) that in the absence of such rights (that is, the right of debate and the like) the citizens would live under a totalitarian and not a free regime—which seems to be quite correct.

JUDGE KNOX found further evidence of Tucci's unworthiness to become an American citizen in another article, published in the magazine *Politics* for November, 1946. Tucci asked, "What is the state?" And he answered that if by state "we mean those who run it and keep it going" we find it is "people who ponder painfully on their lies all day, because they know that they must fool somebody." But "they are victims, too; they suffer from it before they make other people suffer. The state does not exist outside those poor devils there." One may come back at this with the old story that no one in particular but the union of all of them is the state. "*What union? What makes them the state? What lifts them from the scattered existence of nobodies to the synthesis of state? They are the real synthesis of nothing multiplied by nothing.*" The definition of the state is 'Nothing, Nobody, the Full Void.'

Judge Knox, without any comment, dished up the words we have italicized as if they were evidence of a crime which never could be either forgiven or forgotten. Perhaps he did not realize that Tucci had only put into a brilliant and amusing shape doctrines which are as old as Methuselah. If Judge Knox's frame of mind spread among the judiciary of the United States, only fools would be allowed to become citizens.

In the same article Tucci wrote that when he was a Fascist he was telling himself and others that politics is the field of freedom, and when you have said that, you are free to imagine yourself free, you are free to believe that politics has nothing to do with ethics because the statesman is above that and as a true Machiavellian must not bother with petty problems of right and wrong. He found out, however, that the Big Bad Men who preached those doctrines and formed "the state" were but small, happily irresponsible children, nobodies. But when he became an anti-Fascist he committed another error. He believed that all honesty and maturity were to be found on the democratic side of the fence—though only a Fascist, an admirer of the "state," could believe that honesty and maturity were to be found among other nobodies, simply because they formed a democratic "state." After working for three years or so with the official Enemies of Fascism in Washington, he realized that the great difference between the nobodies of Washington and those of Rome consisted in

this: that in Washington they spoke English, and in Rome Italian. The only things the Washington officials really dreaded were criticism and maturity of mind. They believed themselves mature because they had stopped asking themselves the questions a child would ask. When he saw this, he resigned from his post and decided that from that day on he would speak and write only from the level of his own perplexity and ignorance. "If those who are now leading the world happily to its ruin are the adult, I would be less ashamed to be seen in a baby carriage on Fifth Avenue, sucking my left toe, than in an official car of the United Nations."

ONE can say everything about those ideas except that they are those of a Fascist. Tucci has definitely revolted against Fascism with a kind of fury which makes him intolerant of any compromise, even of those compromises which wisdom advises us to accept in order to avoid greater evils or unnecessary friction over non-essentials. When he broke away with shame and disgust from his former aberrations, he had formed so high an ideal of what democracy should be that today all democracies which have existed in history seem to him a betrayal of that ideal—the democracy of the United States no less than that of Athens.

There are moments when one may think that he is an anarchist. Judge Knox might have denied his petition on that ground had not Tucci stated, not at all confusedly but very clearly, that he "does not believe in the political philosophy known as anarchism, whether of the violent character in its commonly accepted connotation or otherwise." He believes "in an extremely decentralized democratic form of government in which the state does not scare the individual into obedience but leaves intact the dignity of the individual." One would say that Jefferson agrees with Tucci.

Tucci goes on: "At present, under the form of government in the United States, I believe that there is not so much dignity left for the individual." As a matter of fact, his application for citizenship shows that in his opinion, all in all, a greater or, if he prefers, a less curtailed dignity is left for the individual in the United States than under Mussolini, or Hitler, or Franco, or Stalin, or Gottwald, or Tito.

Men who would find unsatisfactory even the more perfect forms of democracy are precisely those who originate all improvements in democratic institutions. Their "divine discontent" is the salt of the earth—on the condition they are not too many; but there is no such danger. Their criticism, even if excessive and reckless, seeks to improve the institutions of democracy and not to dismantle them.

According to Judge Knox, Tucci "indicates a low opinion of our form of government and is contemptuous of some of our national and political beliefs." Judge Knox showed no suspicion that there is a difference be-

tween those who criticize democracy in order to improve it and those who attack it in order to destroy it. He did not ask himself whether Tucci belonged to the former or the latter group. He did not grasp the desperate eagerness of this delightful "child" for truth and sincerity. So he denied his petition.

A man ought not to show contempt for the rules of a club while asking to be admitted to it. True. And the rules of the club that is termed the United States of America are to be found in its Constitution. When or how did Tucci ever show contempt for any provision of the Constitution of the United States?

Judge Knox substituted for the Constitution "some of our national and political beliefs." Well, which of our national beliefs are to be held sacrosanct by whoever wants to become an American citizen? Judge Knox took good care not to formulate them. One can only surmise from his "opinion" that they were the following: (1) a man who was born a Fascist is in duty bound to remain a Fascist forever, nor is he allowed to have confused ideas about Fascism; (2) every American citizen is in duty bound not to throw doubts on the advantages of the atom bomb for mankind; (3) the scientists who have lent their intelligence to the preparation of that humanitarian gadget are not slaves of their own work but free to broadcast all the secrets of their trade; (4) there are no nobodies among the examiners of the American Immigration and Naturalization Service or on the American bench; (5) the "state," be it that of Truman or Hitler, be it embodied in geniuses or nobodies, always is the quintessence of justice, wisdom, humanity, and woe to him who does not worship it.

Judge Knox crowned his opinion with the following conclusion: "Notwithstanding, Mr. Tucci, although he remains an alien, must credit this country with at least one virtue"; and this virtue is that "he may still enjoy the right of free speech." This, after the Judge had punished him for exercising the right of free speech!

A man on whom a wife and two children (one of them American-born) depend for their livelihood, respected by all who witnessed his ferocious rebellion against Fascist practices and doctrines when he realized their intellectual and moral perversity, admired by persons of literary taste as a witty and soul-searching critic of human stupidity and vulgarity, loved by whoever meets him for his straightforward, immediate, youthful rebellion against every kind of falsehood—this man has been publicly branded as devoid of good moral character; and has been denied American citizenship on grounds which the most obdurate Philistine would be ashamed to uphold.

This is a test case—a test of whether the "very confused" opinions of a judge can override a right granted by the Constitution of the United States to citizens and aspirant citizens.

Was Germany Bled White?

BY SAUL K. PADOVER

UP TO World War I Germany was a nation with a growing population and a high "net reproduction rate." (A net reproduction rate of 1 indicates that 100 individuals will give birth to 100 others who are expected to reach the age of procreation themselves. It shows, therefore, a stationary population. A rate above 1 means increase; below, decline. If it is well below, as in the case of France, it means demographic catastrophe.)

Before World War I Germany's net rate was a high 1.5. This meant that, provided no violent interruptions occurred, the population would increase by 50 per cent in one generation. On that basis the Reich, with a population of around 68,000,000 in 1914, could expect to reach 100,000,000 by the middle of the century.

World War I prevented Germany from becoming, next to Russia, Europe's biggest and most powerful nation. Germany's military losses in that conflict were 2,000,000 men, or about 3 per cent of the population. But the total loss—birth deficits and other effects of the war added to casualties—was 8 per cent of the population. Even that, however, does not tell the whole story. The 2,000,000 war casualties represented, from the point of view of biological reproduction, the most vital element of the population. More than 95 per cent of them were under the age of forty, and 40 per cent were under twenty-four.

This national bloodletting made itself particularly felt during the Weimar Republic. Germany's net reproduction rate dropped from 1.5 before the war to 0.97 in 1921-25. The birth rate continued to decline until 1933, when it was less than half that of 1914. When Hitler seized power, Germany's net reproduction rate was 0.70, which meant that 100 Germans were being replaced by only 70.

The Nazis, worried that the master race would die out before it was able to conquer Europe, inaugurated vigorous measures to increase the population, encouraging marriages and births in and out of marriage through an intensive campaign of praise, prizes, and propaganda. As a result the number of births rose steadily from a record low of 971,000 in 1933 to 1,407,000 in 1939. Although this was still below the net reproduction rate

of 1, it meant, nevertheless, that the Nazis were succeeding in checking Germany's vital decline.

While they were striving to raise Germany's birth rate, they were at the same time planning the systematic extermination of their neighbors. They wanted Germans to multiply without hindrance and non-Germans to die without issue. In this way, the Nazis calculated, all Europe would become a German province within a few generations. The non-Germans were to be eliminated through enslavement—preventing marriage or reproduction—sterilization, and outright physical annihilation.

Maniacal as the plan was, it came horribly close to succeeding. During World War II about 9,000,000 Europeans of procreative age were enslaved in Germany. At least 6,000,000 others were destroyed in the gas chambers and ovens of the Nazi murder factories. Some 20,000,000 able-bodied Europeans were otherwise killed: Soviet *military* losses alone are estimated at more than 7,000,000 men. And the birth rate of almost the whole Continent was cut drastically through family separations, hunger, and other privations.

Thus the Germans almost "got away with it." They did not start to pay in blood until they ran up against Soviet resistance. The German toll began to mount at Stalingrad, and from then on the drain was almost continuous. The latest estimate of Germany's military losses in World War II is 2,800,000. To this must be added half a million civilian casualties from bombing raids. Altogether the German dead amounted to about 3,300,000.

On the face of it this looks like a comparatively low figure and might lead to the conclusion that, demographically at least, Germany did not lose the war—as did France in 1918. I myself was inclined to hold that view until I saw the results of the census of October 29, 1946, as well as some more recent data. According to this census, the four German zones had a combined population of just under 66,000,000. But the sensational revelation was not that figure but the tremendous disproportion that existed between the sexes. The population contained 29,314,000 males and 36,597,000 females—a shortage of 7,283,000 men. Of these, about 3,300,000 are known to be dead. The rest are prisoners of war. Possibly as many as 3,000,000 war prisoners are still in the Soviet Union, and it is doubtful whether more than a fraction of them will ever return, or return physically fit to beget children.

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Thus Germany emerged from World War II with a total loss of no fewer than 6,000,000 males in the vital age group. To some extent, of course, this loss has been made up by the transfer of about 6,000,000 German nationals from Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary, but among these is the usual percentage of the old and the ill and a disproportionately large number of women.

The male-female disproportion is highest in the big cities. In Berlin, for example, there are around seven men to ten women. In the French zone, where there has been an increase of 42 per cent in the number of widows, the proportion between men and women is eleven to nineteen. In the British zone it is five to six; in the American and Russian zones, seven to nine.

Berlin's birth rate dropped from 15.7 per cent in 1939 to 4.9 per cent in 1946. While the decline is not so sharp in the nation as a whole, the trend is country-wide. Infant mortality has risen in the American and British zones from 60 per 1,000 live births before the war to over 100 today. It is probably higher in the Russian zone.

What is Germany's outlook for the future? All

indications point to a steady decline in population in the next generation. The deficit of births during the war and the shortage of younger males cannot be made up. There will probably be an increase in the birth rate when the present youths reach the age of procreation and when the prisoners of war return, but that will be only a temporary spurt. In the long run, it is hard to see how Germany's demographic descent can be halted.

Germany, like France, is becoming increasingly a country of old people. In Berlin today more than half the inhabitants are over forty years old. In the country as a whole about 8 per cent of the population is over sixty-five. At the present rate this percentage will probably be about doubled by 1970. In the same span of time the percentage of youths under fifteen—they now form about 23 per cent of the population—will be halved.

This demographic picture has, of course, political implications. The truth is that Germany is no longer a growing giant. Like the rest of Western Europe, it is entering a period of stagnation, and its population will continue to decline both relatively and absolutely.

Charles A. Beard

BY PERRY MILLER

THE minds of multitudes who never heard the name of Charles A. Beard have been shaped by him—if only because the fashion in which the many become habituated to conceiving of their past is more decisive in conduct than the little they learn about "economics" or "psychology." The high-school senior in American history—in what nowadays is called "social studies"—who has heard much of what people ate and wore and how they traveled and labored, little of elections, and nothing about battles has been instructed by Beard. Students of Beard, and hundreds like myself who knew him only through his books, have over the last four decades reshaped the teaching of American history mainly according to his ideas. Thousands now take for granted at least the rudiments of his thesis that juristic institutions, whatever their formal logic, are to be studied as rationalizations or implementations of vital interests. His textbooks along with the literary productions of his last years have done more than the work of anyone else, theorist or historian, to instil into the average consciousness a "realistic" concept of what he called "the direct, impelling motive" in American development.

This is not eulogy but fact. Beard was a seminal

force, not through profundity of speculation—he was inept in metaphysics—or through erudition, but because out of passionate conviction he rejected Pope's line, "For forms of government let fools contest," with the fine assertion, "Forms of government are vital to the happiness of the people." When William Howard Taft in 1915 delivered a tirade against Beard's "An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution," he showed little understanding of Beard's argument, but he did reveal the consternation of the juristic mind. Beard was taking the Constitution away from the high priests of the mystery and restoring it to the people—"We, the people," who theoretically created it—even if, ironically, the rescue took the form of a demonstration that the framers were inspired by economic incentives and that the people had not written or wanted the document. Still, when Beard applied to it what from first to last was his criterion, "Separated from the social and economic fabric by which it is, in part, conditioned and which, in turn, it helps to condition, it has no reality," the Constitution was brought down to earth and to humanity.

In 1927 he did the same service for the whole expanse of our history with "The Rise of American Civilization"—"surveying life as a whole, as distinguished from microscopic analysis by departments." He invoked Voltaire—"not the actions of a single man, but the character of society"—and launched his greatest book with the

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debonair announcement that it is better to be wrecked on an express train bound to a destination than to moulder in a freight car sidetracked in a well-fenced lumber yard. The "Rise" is a basic text for our time, but for most of us who live off it as off inherited capital it now appears the happiest phase in a career which at the end was melancholy wreck.

The 1910 edition of his most widely used textbook, "American Government and Politics," devoted three casual pages to dismissing the myth of isolation, explaining that even Washington did not forbid "commercial" relations with foreign powers, so that the protection of these interests "may at any time lead to the necessity of cooperating with them in military expeditions," nor are any political doctrines "strong enough to overcome those material and moral forces which are linking our destinies to those of the world at large." By 1936 he wrote, "Having rejected the imperialist 'racket' and entertaining doubts about our ability to make peace and goodness prevail in Europe and Asia, I think that we should concentrate our attention on tilling our own garden." He expended his last months in the composition of two frenetic indictments of Franklin Roosevelt for contriving the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and for yielding to the material and moral forces of Hitler and Mussolini by fighting them.

HIS friends plead that his deafness and isolation on a Connecticut farm shut him off from conversation, and that he nursed the scorpions of spiritual loneliness. But the history of his mind has greater implications than biographical details; there is a logic in it that is at once a symptom of the age and a comment on it, one which I can only suggest, though it is worth a volume.

As late as 1930 he could scorn Wilson's notion of open covenants with the realistic statement that if diplomats publish all they say, they will talk for home consumption; and anyway, diplomats are limited to what the people will indorse: "Wise governments do not make commitments for which there is no popular foundation; and to win that support they do well to formulate policies and understandings which will in the long run promise security rather than adventures." But just at this time Beard was hit, as we all were, by two discoveries—disillusionment with the war of 1917-18 and the depression. They hit him, the lover of common, ordinary, run-of-the-mill America, with agonizing force, and gradually there took shape in his mind the suspicion that the conflict of appearance and reality is not merely a law of history but a condition deliberately exploited in a plot by which such Americans as he are repeatedly duped.

The depression showed him the intellectual bankruptcy of the business men, and he let go in 1932 with

"The Myth of Rugged American Individualism" against the creed that "is principally responsible for the distress in which Western civilization finds itself." Meanwhile he was coming to the conviction, out of the revelations of European archives and of the Nye committee, that America's participation in the crusade for democracy was rigged by the financiers. He had been doubly deceived, and each time, in the war and in the depression, the deceiver was the rugged individualist, the American business man. The civilization he had so tenderly chronicled was being wantonly sacrificed, and deep within him formed the resolve, announced in 1936 in "The Devil Theory of War," never to lend himself to the dirty business again.

The America we must till, he cried, "is a big garden and a good garden, though horribly managed and trampled by our greedy folly." The two bitter experiences converged upon the lesson that "capitalism as historically practiced" was balking his America of its destiny—he who had seen that the colonization of America was primarily an "applying [of] ever-increasing energies to business enterprise"—and that capitalism thrives on war; thereupon Beard sacrificed every sense of proportion, every reading of history in the large, to the unqualified dictum that America must under no circumstances ever again go to war. In 1941 he saw nothing historically inevitable; he could not allow himself to see it, and so wrote his two books to prove that while in "appearance" the Roosevelt Administration wanted peace, in "reality" it was provoking war. In anguish of spirit the man who in 1930 had written that governments do well to formulate policies which in the long run promise security, who as late as 1936 could remember that "events in history as reality are connected with other events, past and present," arraigned President Roosevelt for precipitating a great war out of caprice, and refused to see any connection with other events, past or present.

He played into the isolationist line and into the party line. One can understand why, and even admire the massive sincerity, but somewhere in his mind was wanting a principle of coherence and perspective, so that the student must regretfully appeal from Beard embittered to Beard the scholar. Business men and politicians, he said, who talked against government interference and then supported measures for interference illustrated his contrast of appearance with reality: "Their mouths were worked by ancient memories and their actions were shaped by inexorable realities." Reality was always his slogan, but as he declared in the essay on the Constitution, only the specific reality of each circumscribed case; more than that would be dogmatism. To find the real motives of the framers was enough: "It may be that some larger world process is working through each series of historical events; but ultimate causes lie beyond

our horizon." And yet his last books show him pathetically mulling over and over the immemorial problem of fate and freedom, saying, "What is fated is fated and is beyond our power of control," but then qualifying it: "According to my world view, our universe is not all fate; we have some freedom in it." The healthy resolve of 1913 not to venture into the world process became with the years and with anxiety a necessity to stabilize somewhere short of the cosmos, to take a stand upon some final but finite objectivity. So he identified ultimate reality with his America. "America is fated to be America, and all the pulling and hauling of world planners cannot alter the fact."

Beard's progress from the ranging, penetrating scholar

of 1910 to the embittered isolationist of the 1940's therefore seems to me a story of the most poignant significance. Leaving aside the personal factors, it is a commentary upon what at the turn of the century seemed the most promising of intellectual movements, the "new history," history in the pragmatic vein, that would devote itself to isolating particular realities behind specific appearances, but would preserve a rigorous skepticism about ultimate causes. When it became necessary to expand the conception of reality to deal with a world process, it was Beard's mouth that worked by ancient memories, and the prophet of inexorable reality was left denouncing the history he had done so much to create.

Rotten Boroughs in the United States

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, September 15

THE voters of California will be given an opportunity in November to restore representative government in the state. Among the initiative measures on the ballot will be Proposition No. 13, a plan to reapportion representation in the state senate. Since the so-called "federal plan" was palmed off on Californians in 1926, state senators have been elected from districts determined by geographical area rather than by population. Most of the counties have one senator; a few districts comprise two or more counties. Proposition No. 13, without increasing the total number of senators, which is fixed by law at forty, would give ten senators to Los Angeles County, five to San Francisco, four to Alameda (Oakland), and two to San Diego.

If this reform goes through in California, it may well mark the beginning of a nation-wide revolt against the continuation of the rotten boroughs, the counterpart of those abolished in England in 1832, which control our state governments. Today there is scarcely a single state in which equality of representation prevails. Urban dwellers form 59 per cent of the total population of the country but elect only 25 per cent of the state legislators. This anachronistic situation is due to the tardiness of the states in reapportioning representation on the basis of population. Mississippi has not been reapportioned since 1892, Kentucky since 1893, Illinois since 1901. In most of the lower houses substantial equality has been established, but the upper houses are almost universally

elected by constituencies based on geographical divisions.

Especially in California "miles" count for more than millions, scenery for more than industry. The counties in the high Sierras have a veto power over all state legislation. The city and county of San Francisco, for example, with a population of 780,000, has one state senator; Mono and Inyo counties, with 12,270 people, likewise have one senator. Los Angeles County, with 39 per cent of the state's population, has but one senator. The votes of five senators representing 6,000,000 people in California can be offset by the votes of five others representing 150,000 people. As a matter of fact, less than 6 per cent of the state's population elects a majority of the upper house.

The California situation, while extreme, is by no means unique. Wayne County (Detroit), with 40 per cent of Michigan's population, has 27 per cent of the representation in the state legislature. Fulton County (Atlanta), with a population of 393,000, has the same number of representatives in the Georgia legislature as Echols County, population 3,000. Polk County (Des Moines), with a population of 195,835, has one state senator, and so does Mahaska County with 26,485 people. Silver Bow County (Butte), with a population of 53,207, has one senator, as does Petroleum County with a population of 1,083. The city of Hartford, Connecticut, with 166,000 people, has two representatives in the lower house, which places it on a par with Colebrook with its 547 residents.

One result of this situation is, literally, taxation without representation, for urban dwellers pay 90 per cent of all federal, state, and local taxes. Metropolitan areas, moreover, whose costs of government increase in almost geometrical ratio to the increase in their population, are scraping the bottom of the barrel for revenue. Lacking

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representation in the legislature, they have been narrowly restricted in their taxing power and in the sources of income which they are permitted to tap.

The archaic system by which state legislatures are selected receives more support than meets the eye. The most powerful political lobbyist in California is unquestionably Artie Samish, a man whose name is unknown to most Californians and who has attracted so little state or national attention that the observant John Gunther failed to mention his name in an otherwise excellent chapter

on California politics. Samish has an iron grip on the state legislature. What he wants in the way of legislation for his clients he can usually get; his veto power is nearly absolute. And the basis of his power is to be found in the manner in which state senators are elected.

A senator from a backwoods county can usually win reelection without much



Governor Warren

difficulty. The demands of his constituents are few and easily satisfied—the extension of a highway, the construction of a bridge, some minor patronage. If a senator meets these simple demands and can spend \$5,000 on his campaign, he can be reelected term after term. Samish, with six or eight of these “cow county” senators in his pocket—and he usually has more—can push through or block legislation by controlling certain key committees. A few thousand dollars in campaign contributions in a number of strategic counties is about all it costs Samish to remain the czar that he is today.

Powerful politicians in California have hesitated to cross Artie Samish. For example, Governor Earl Warren, who has little use for him, has been extremely reluctant to challenge his power. For although Samish cannot elect or defeat a candidate for the governorship, he can always block legislation, and to be reelected a governor must be able to point to legislative accomplishments. Samish, however, is careful not to concern himself with issues in which he is not directly interested. The range of his interests is extensive—from motor carriers to liquor licensing to kelp beds—but it does not include, as yet, the entire field of legislation. If he is not openly attacked, Artie is accommodating; if he is frustrated on an important matter, he can bring the wheels of legislation to a dead halt.

The uninitiated may wonder why someone like Governor Warren has not supported legislative reapportion-

ment and taken the issue directly to the people. The answer is simple. Nearly every business interest in the state is quite satisfied with the present unequal basis of representation; in fact, the business interests were responsible for the adoption of the “federal plan” in 1926. Many an executive will defend the present system in some such words as these: “Sure, the state senate is a racket, but the present set-up is less corrupt than the old. Nowadays we don’t have to bribe senators to get what we want; we simply make campaign contributions in a few strategic areas.” To be sure, if some business or professional group forms an “association” and retains Artie Samish as its representative, it usually finds that it must continue to retain him, but the expense is probably less than if the association had to deal directly with the politicians. In consequence any governor who takes on Artie takes on a powerful combination of business, industrial, and agricultural interests.

Even the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, which might be expected to want to see the community fairly represented in the state senate, is a vigorous opponent of Proposition No. 13. As individuals Los Angeles business men may resent the discrimination, but as executives they appreciate the advantages of Samish’s air-tight control of the state senate. Organized business, professional, financial, and industrial groups are therefore aligned with the residents of rural areas and such groups as the Associated Farmers against Proposition No. 13.

Playing upon the traditional antipathy of “farm folks” for “city folks,” the business interests have succeeded in whipping up a frenzy of opposition to reapportionment in rural areas. Even newspapers like the *Fresno Bee*, which has a long and fine record of support for progressive legislation, are arguing that “the rural areas would be swallowed up and made subservient to the whims of larger metropolitan areas.” Actually the record shows that the basic issues affecting the rural areas are often indifferently dealt with in a state senate controlled by the rural vote. The great industrial and financial interests which are the real beneficiaries of the present dispensation have never been noted for their concern for the well-being of rural residents.

“Democracy,” as Dr. Dean E. McHenry of the University of California said recently, “presumes representation based on people not places, on population not territory, on individuals not governmental or vocational units.” The United States Conference of Mayors is doing an excellent job in bringing this whole question to the attention of the American people and in insisting that the rotten-borough system be abolished. The issue has far-reaching implications. If it is true that the federal government is encroaching on the state governments in one field after another, perhaps the principal explanation is to be found in the thoroughly unrepresentative character of most state legislatures.

Vitamins and the Aging Process

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

THE reputation of vitamins has been widely discredited by unscientific commercial publicity. The fact that a specific vitamin deficiency produces severe symptoms of disease which can be cured by doses of the lacking vitamin does not prove that a surplus amount of the vitamin is beneficial to the normal person. In fact, the unfavorable effect on human health of overdoses of vitamins has often been observed. Vitamins are strong, potentially dangerous drugs. Unsupervised medication—sale without prescription—and inaccurate commercial promotion should be prohibited.

The worst part of the present craze for vitamins is that drugstore and department-store sales may cause some valuable results of the latest vitamin research to be neglected. Such research concerns the different utilization of vitamins by different individuals, the synergistic action of certain vitamins when combined with others, and the cumulative effect of an increased intake of specific vitamins over a prolonged period of time.

In this connection I want to report on experimental studies of the longevity factor of pantothenic acid—a component of the vitamin B group—which were recently published by Dr. Thomas S. Gardner in the *Journal of Gerontology*. The basic subject of these studies was royal jelly, a thick fluid with a flower-like odor that is secreted by young worker bees. The average worker-bee larvae are fed on royal jelly for only a few days of their life cycle. Larvae fed on royal jelly for the whole life cycle develop into queen bees. The queen, who also receives royal jelly during her egg-laying periods, lives five years, while the workers die after one summer.

It is natural to deduce that the special diet of the queen bee influences her outstanding longevity and fertility. Royal jelly has therefore been carefully analyzed. The presence of estrogenic hormones and of the so-called fertility vitamin E in royal jelly is disputed, but the substance has been found to be the richest known natural source of pantothenic acid: its concentration in royal jelly is about seventeen times greater than in pollen.

Dr. Gardner chose to investigate the effect of the different chemical compounds of royal jelly on the lifespan of fruit flies. The average length of life of the fruit fly, under the sterile conditions of a laboratory, at a temperature of 30° C., is eleven to fourteen days. Dr. Gardner found that some parts of royal jelly decreased the

average length of life, that large quantities of the whole substance had a beneficial effect on the lifespan, and that the pantothenic-acid factor of the jelly, alone, increased the lifespan 27.8 per cent.

The identification of pantothenic acid as the primary anti-aging factor in royal jelly led Dr. Gardner to accumulate other data on this substance. Human milk is one of the best sources of pantothenic acid, and human placentas contain large amounts of it. In fact, wherever young, actively growing tissue is present, pantothenic acid is found in unusually high concentrations. A deficiency of pantothenic acid has been observed in rats as a cause of premature senility. A similar deficiency in human beings has never been observed. Not enough is yet known about the part of pantothenic acid in the human diet. The daily requirement for man has been estimated to be eleven to fifteen milligrams daily—and our present average American diet contains only about 4.9 milligrams.

Carrying his experiment a step farther, Dr. Gardner tried to establish the cumulative and synergistic effects of other vitamins in combination with pantothenic acid. He found that yeast nucleic acid, which has a life-prolonging effect on white mice, would prolong the lifespan of fruit flies 11.3 per cent. However, if given together with pantothenic acid it caused a surprising extension—46.6 per cent. It may be concluded that an increased intake of pantothenic acid enhances the effects of other beneficial nutrients.

As I said above, the role of pantothenic acid in human metabolism is still undefined. From the fruit fly, *Drosophila melanogaster*, to *Homo sapiens* is a long way. Pantothenic acid had a short-lived sensational boom a few years ago when experimentation with mice seemed to establish that it acted to keep hair from turning gray. However, this was not convincingly confirmed in try-outs on human beings.

Today strong evidence is accumulating that the role of pantothenic acid is probably much more important in human nutrition than has been hitherto assumed. Whether it acts as an anti-aging factor in human beings, and how it acts, has still to be shown. Fortunately, pantothenic acid is one of the least toxic of the B vitamins; so experimentation with reasonably large amounts will be permissible. At this stage any exploitation of a new "life-prolonging miracle vitamin" should be avoided, and the study of the exciting substance left to physicians. Headline hysteria has interfered too often with the advance of science.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Jeffers and Pound

THE DOUBLE AXE, AND OTHER POEMS. By Robinson Jeffers. Random House. \$2.75.

THE PISAN CANTOS. By Ezra Pound. New Directions. \$2.75.

ROBINSON JEFFERS remarks in his preface, "It seems time that our race began to think as an adult does, rather than like an egocentric baby or insane person." Fair enough; but the Jeffers philosophical attitude, which, he says, "might be called Inhumanism, a shifting of emphasis and significance from man to not-man"—he denies that he is either misanthropic or pessimistic—seems a late-adolescent sort of wisdom, sentimental as the other California brand, with a different trademark, the Saroyan-Steinbeck affectation that all humanity is "sumpin' wunnerful." "The breed of man/has been queer from the start," says a poem in praise of the killer-whale. Nonsense: the breed of man, to be sure, has produced its Caligulas, and, if you want to go along with Mr. Jeffers, also Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, and Hitler; what he seems inclined to overlook is that it has also produced Shakespeare, Mozart, Rilke, the men who made the George Washington and Whitestone bridges and the Pennsylvania Turnpike. Or, for that matter, the man who can feel with such emotion, and describe with such dignity and power, the California landscape around Monterey County.

"The Double Axe" is characteristic Jeffers, a long narrative poem with horrible characters, and deeds of lurid violence on practically every page. Not much evidence of change or growth, "only more sure of all I thought was true," since "Roan Stallion" and "Tamar"; a little something added, lest the melodrama stale, by a fillip of the supernatural, a dead soldier returned, walking and talking, an ax that speaks aloud. To give a synopsis of what happens could so easily be made misleading, funny, unfair, for the Jeffers command of language does invest his work, I think, with an air of stature and dig-

nity beyond the philosophy's deserts. In addition to the title poem there are two dozen, more or less, shorter lyrics which, as the author says, are expressions of the same attitude. Many are political; it seems to me as pusillanimous of the publishers to disavow the sentiments of these as it would have been had Dickens's publishers gone on record as saying they could not, of course, identify themselves with the moral attitudes of Uriah Heep.

OLD EZ, as the author of the Pisan Cantos describes himself, with less self-pity than you might expect, is a much more difficult writer to follow, or come out ahead of; no one but a scholar or a disciple, and he might miss some nuances, could reasonably be expected to recognize every allusion, or even understand every language, of which the poet makes use. What one, knowing the Pound history, expects to find in these cantos, numbered LXXIV-LXXXIV, is babble and wreck, the disintegration of a once fine if eccentric intelligence, senescent, maundering, GPI hysteria, total recall. It simply ain't so and don't let any patriot tell you different. The Pisan Cantos are beautifully written; their obscurities, their eccentricities, no more pronounced than Pound ever was; the diction firm, sound, elegant; the music and the image adding up to the dance; the whole thing moving. From Pound the reader who would like to believe in the human race will derive much more comfort than from Jeffers; how little the latter ever praises of men's places, or foods, or drinks, or, above all, works of art; and how much of Pound is nothing but testimony and testament of praise, delight, satisfaction, the color, the arrangement, the phrase read, the conversation spoken, the fragment overheard. These shored against the ruins are stronger than the ruins; and for philosophical attitude *l'homme moyen sensuel*, the reader whose maturity is not greatly superior to normal, would prefer to go along with Pound rather than with Jeffers. There is not space to quote all, and some parts of a passage from pages 98-

100 are a little obscure to me, but perhaps it would not be too much of an injustice to cite part:

What thou lovest well remains; the rest
is dross
What thou lov'st well shall not be reft
from thee
What thou lov'st well is thy true heri-
tage . . .
The ant's a centaur in his dragon world.
Pull down thy vanity, it is not man
Made courage, or made order, or made
grace,
Pull down thy vanity, I say pull down.
Learn of the green world what can be
thy place
In scaled invention or true artistry,
Pull down thy vanity. . . .
But to have done instead of not doing,
This is not vanity . . .
To have gathered from the air a live
tradition
Or from a fine old eye the unconquered
flame
This is not vanity.
Here error is all in the not done,
All in the diffidence that faltered.

Except for the familiar denunciation of usury, these cantos of Ezra Pound's express no ideas as politically explicit as those of Jeffers. Whatever idiocies he may have babbled into the Fascist radios (and I cannot help thinking that, even so, he was on riskier ground than Jeffers's Roosevelt-hating after the event), Old Ez, in my opinion, has never been a traitor to the republic of letters, for wh. (as he would abbreviate) not forgiveness is due him, but honor. I would rather see him saved from death by drowning, or the firing squad, than Bennett Cerf. Or even Clifton Fadiman; and if that be treason, etc., etc.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Hayek's Utopia

INDIVIDUALISM AND ECONOMIC ORDER. By Friedrich A. Hayek. The University of Chicago Press. \$5.

HAYEK'S "The Road to Serfdom," because of the large following it attracted among indiscriminating supporters of the American brand of private enterprise, did his reputation in

this country an injustice. Hayek is above all a scholar, with a keen and subtle mind, and he would scarcely choose to be the propagandist for the N. A. M. type of economics. Because he is among the most thoughtful and consistent supporters of a market economy as against planning either by the state or by private monopoly, those who disagree with him cannot afford to ignore him; they may easily sharpen their wits on his ideas. This is especially true of a book like the present one, which is a collection of his lectures and articles, directed not to the Rotary Club luncheon but to academic audiences.

Hayek does not defend the kind of private enterprise which exists. "It is important to realize," he has written, "in any investigation of the possibilities of planning that it is a fallacy to suppose capitalism as it exists today is the alternative. We are certainly as far from capitalism in its pure form as we are from any system of central planning. The world of today is just interventionist chaos." (This was published in 1935.)

The kind of market economy which he wants is something which will have to be created. And it cannot be created without intervention by the state. *Laissez faire* will not do as a guiding principle. Liberalism, he says, should not be the absence of state activity but "a policy which deliberately adopts competition, the market, and prices as its ordering principle and uses the legal framework enforced by the state in order to make competition as beneficial and effective as possible—and to supplement it where, and only where, it cannot be made effective." The guiding principle of this legal intervention, he maintains, should be to establish rules and laws, applying impartially to everybody, within which individual decisions are made. It should not be an assumption by the state of the function of making day-to-day decisions about economic matters.

The bulk of Hayek's work is devoted to arguing how and why a competitive market economy approximates equilibrium and a socially desirable allocation of resources, and how and why centralized planning cannot possibly achieve as good results. There is, too, much emphasis on his assertion that once the government begins to intervene, there is no stopping point in planning until

there develops a totalitarian state which deprives everybody of freedom. His central theme, therefore, is evangelistic: he is engaged in persuading us to adopt a system which we do not have, one which he contends is as perfect as anything human well can be, and in contrasting it sharply with the existing tendency, which he believes is leading us straight to the abyss.

Hayek is sensitive to the charge that this attitude is not scientific, since it is not supported by empirical evidence and cannot be statistically checked. Where is the perfect market which he describes? What relation does it have to the real world of production and trade? How can a deductive proposition, based on assumed premises, solve our economic difficulties? By what specific means are we to establish a regime from which, he acknowledges, human society is drifting farther every day? He answers by an intricate contention that the social sciences cannot be scientific in the sense of the natural ones, since in the social sciences man is looking inward at himself rather than outward at an objective world. Man's "facts" about economics are what is given in his immediate knowledge of himself and his acts; statistics can lead to nothing except a disordered uncertainty. Hayek's inner light leads him to believe so wholeheartedly in the market economy of classical theory that apparently he is not much disturbed by the difficulty of validating it by objectively viewed institutions.

It will be seen that the issues here are ethical and philosophical rather than a matter of the interpretation of systematic observation. That this is the core of Hayek's concern is well illustrated by his lecture on liberalism. He is a liberal not because he believes in the market; he believes in the market because he is a liberal. And his liberalism is avowedly anti-rational. Any man's intellect is limited; he cannot comprehend others' needs and problems. True individualism consists in letting each person make his own choices. Fortunately, under the hypothetical competitive capitalism the outcome would be not anarchy but an almost miraculous order. The total result, guided by Adam Smith's "invisible hand," is the most efficient possible use of labor and resources. Hayek rejects the Continental strain of individ-

ualism, based on faith in man's reason. Faith in reason, he asserts, is what leads to the heresy of planning.

Hayek, then, is a utopian, finding his assurance in an essentially mystical view of society and the individual. Like many reformers, he is capable of keen logic. Like many mystics, he lives intellectually in a universe of discourse where it is difficult to confute him, once that universe has been entered and its assumptions granted. But men and nations, as he admits, do not live in that universe. Let us hope that those who do believe it possible to learn something about human behavior by objective analysis, and who have faith in reason as a guide to collective action, can succeed in showing us how to maintain something like economic order in reality, and without sacrificing much of the individual freedom of choice that is actually enjoyed. I am one of those who believe that headway in this endeavor is being made. But I am also grateful to Hayek and others like him, because a close attention to their detailed critiques of planning may help in avoiding very real pitfalls which lie in wait for the planners.

GEORGE SOULE

Novel of Venezuela

DONA BARBARA. By Rómulo Gallegos. Translated by Robert Malloy. Second Edition. Peter Smith. \$3.

IN THE seventeen years that have passed since "Doña Barbara" was first published in English many things have happened both to the author and to the country where its scenes are laid. In those days Venezuela was a land where laws were made by Dictator Gomez and where costs of governing were paid by the proceeds from oil wells rather than from taxes. Rómulo Gallegos was a teacher and an author with ideas about democracy which were safer unexpressed in Venezuela except as they might be incorporated in the fictional form of the novel.

When Gomez was gathered to his fathers, Gallegos along with thousands of his fellow-Venezuelans felt free to embark on a political career. He founded the party of Democratic Action, became its leader, and in 1947—having first written a new constitution which permitted the democratic election of officers—became Venezuela's President.

The republication of the book at this time is certainly due in part to its author's emergence into political importance of the first rank. This fact should not diminish the interest in his novel. "Doña Barbara" still holds a leading place among all the South American novels published in the last seventeen years. When it first appeared its author was hailed as the first among modern South American writers. The timelessness that characterized it has stood it in good stead. It is only a little dated, and that little is rather to its credit.

Many elements which have been repeated in South American novels since that time appear here—the wild and spacious country with which man must continuously contend if he is to survive, the anger against corrupt or dictatorial administration of the law, the sympathy for the beaten and oppressed. If lawlessness is treated with less of perverse sentimentality than is now popular, if patches which might so easily be black, green, or purple are written with more restraint, this is partly a measure of Gallegos's skill and partly the fashion of the period before violence shook off the last checkrein. Those who have formed a taste for triumphant brutality may find the book old-fashioned. The struggle between the debased and wilful woman who could lasso and throw her bull with the best of her ranch hands and the man who came to impose order on the savage land he owned might end differently in the hands of a North American novelist today. Rómulo Gallegos's admiration went to the one who added to a strong will a good education and a sense of moral responsibility. If it is the man who wins, it is also the finer human being; those were the days before man's animal heritage had won wide psychiatric acclaim.

Yet for all its moral ending, there is nothing sugary or forced about this book. Its people, whether ranch owners, peons, or scoundrels, are real, its situations honestly conceived, its moments of awkwardness traceable to translation difficulties rather than to inadequacies of construction. One hopes that Gallegos the President may show the same fine tolerance, sympathy, and understanding of Venezuelans that inspired Gallegos the author seventeen years ago.

MILDRED ADAMS

Once Over Lightly

EARL WARREN: A GREAT AMERICAN STORY. By Irving Stone. Prentice-Hall. \$2.

IRVING STONE completed this 50,000 word opus in precisely eighteen days. With the assistance of his wife, a secretary, Governor Warren's press representative, and an editor for Prentice-Hall, a redraft was then prepared in a week, and the first copies were off the press nine days later. For some reason both author and publisher seem inordinately proud of this record, as though they had just walked away with the 100-yard dash in the Olympics. I confess to some surprise over the amount of time which Stone claims to have spent on this book, for I had assumed, on a first reading, that it was probably written over a long Southern California week-end.

Had I taken the trouble, however, to examine specimens of Stone's rippling, poetic prose, I could not have made this false assumption. Consider, for example, the scene in which Earl meets Nina:

The guests met at nine o'clock to swim at the Piedmont Baths. Earl got into his suit, walked from the locker room to the deep end of the plunge, greeted a number of his friends, and then looked out toward the pool where there was a good deal of friendly splashing and laughter. There he saw a face: and momentarily his world stopped. The young woman was in water up to her shoulders, a bathing cap covering all but the oval of her face. He could not tear his gaze away from the enormous eyes, fair skin, rosy cheeks which were just the right touch on the plump side, with full rich

mouth and well-modeled chin. Somewhere from out of his past, from deep in his unconscious memory, from the gallery of thousands of pictures, from the realm of the wish unfulfilled and the hope yet to come, voices spoke to him, the fragments whirled and settled into a whole, this one face came up to him out of the water, life-size, breathing, lovely, resolving all that had gone before and everything to come.

He turned to his hostess and said, "Would you . . . would you please . . . introduce me?"

There are professional biographers around who could not put together even one paragraph like that in eighteen days.

I suppose it is unfair to apply ordinary standards of truth-telling to a flashy job of this kind, but even by the relaxed standards of campaign biographies this performance must be given an all-time-record low score. One example will have to suffice. On page 112 Stone, with a perfect dead-pan, writes that Warren (a) prepared maps for the Tolán committee showing the location of Japanese Americans in California in relation to defense installations; and (b) later defended the "constitutionality" of the procedure by which 110,000 men, women, and children, two-thirds of whom were citizens of the United States, were removed from their homes and placed in concentration camps. But he does not state, even for the purpose of providing an alibi or rationalization, that Warren *actively* campaigned for the removal of the Japanese, that the maps and data referred to were grossly misleading and false in their implications, that he *actively* opposed the return of the evacuees to California (it would bring about "another



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Pearl Harbor" were his words), and that careful investigators, such as Bradford Smith and Dr. Morton Grodzins of the University of Chicago, have charged Warren with major responsibility for the shameful pressure campaign by which mass evacuation was finally achieved. Here, indeed, truth lies at the bottom of a well. But a biographer who could make a christer of Clarence Darrow and a henpecked husband of Gene Debs would naturally think of Earl Warren as a statesman and hero.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

The Future of Europe

YOU CAN'T TURN THE CLOCK BACK. By R. W. G. Mackay. Ziff-Davis Publishing Company. \$3.50.

R. W. G. MACKAY, a well-known member of Parliament, has written an impassioned argument for a federal union of Europe—or at least of the sixteen Marshall Plan nations. He regards this scheme as Item No. 1 on any reasonable agenda for European survival. And not only does he argue, he acts. He was leader of the British delegation to the Congress of Europe at The Hague in May, 1948, and also of the delegation to the Congress of the European Interparliamentary Union at Interlaken in August-September. The author's activities, indeed, lend extrinsic interest to his book—which it very much needs. For not content to stick to his important last, Mr. Mackay introduces other issues and argues for them in a way that suggests he is deliberately trailing his coat.

Laying it down that Europe has been in decline since World War I, Mr. Mackay insists that today it is heading for a fall. He includes the United Kingdom in Europe. The necessary first step toward reversing the trend is to gather the various states—all in his view too small to solve their problems standing alone—into a soundly conceived federal system. Sacrificing sovereignty is the price of survival. The joining of the nations will,

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he argues, create a trading area sufficiently large to make economic revival certain and provide the foundation for political and cultural strength. Mr. Mackay thinks he sees an identity between a large trading area and economic strength, repeatedly instancing the United States and the U. S. S. R. He also believes that democracy under modern conditions requires a large area for stability, but why he thinks these things is not made clear, except by analogy. Somehow he is convinced that a federal Europe, plus the colonial dependencies of the imperial countries, in close association with the two dominions most closely tied to Britain in trade, Australia and New Zealand, will approach self-sufficiency. Groping around in the somewhat misty economics of the book, one finally concludes that while Mr. Mackay disbelieves in autarchy for small states, big states are strong in so far as they include in an open trading area the resources for an autarchic system. This is important, for it is on this belief that he bases his strongest, or most ardently exploited, argument for a federal Europe.

Mr. Mackay iterates and reiterates that you cannot solve twentieth-century problems with nineteenth-century ideas. By extension of his "big trading area" notion, he is against all the efforts currently being made to recreate a multi-lateral, open, trading world through international institutions consciously planned and directed. He appears to feel that trading policy should be in the hands of the super-federalist states, and that what form trade will take is not yet certain. He is against Britain's present policy of trying to solve its balance-of-payments problem by concentrating on exports. He thinks it will fail. But he believes it will be solved within the large European trading area. By this method he dodges the problem of the trading relations of the super-states, leaving it dangling in a most untidy fashion and creating the impression that his own uncertainty makes it impossible for him to grasp the fact that maybe they could, after all, be governed by the open-universe principle. In short, his opposition to the current effort seems rather poorly grounded. His itch to criticize outruns his capacity to write constructively.

Various other loose ends deaden the

impact of his book. He sees clearly enough that if Britain goes into a European union, the problem of Commonwealth relations will become acute. But he assumes too readily that the Commonwealth is doomed to disintegration anyhow, chiefly because in his opinion it cannot defend itself standing alone—he is not the only one to hold this view—and comes close to advising Britain to adopt a *sauf qui peut* policy which the British peoples, with their great political ingenuity, are little likely to accept. The conference of prime ministers in October is very apt to come up with a solution of the dilemma which will make Mr. Mackay look positively reckless in his pessimism. Again, Mr. Mackay argues that socialism must be the economic policy of federal Europe, which is well enough, but his socialism consists almost entirely of nationalization-for-efficiency, with a dash of very dilute Keynesianism, and takes no account of the headaches Britain is today suffering in its Socialist experiments. He remarks that politicians always trail behind the advanced thinkers. This is a case in point, and Mr. Mackay might profitably refine his socialism by a session with the books and articles of the Socialist critics of socialism (for example, James Meade) even if he eschews opponents like John Jewkes. Conversely, he is all too happy in his expectation that the United States will shortly experience a depression of monumental dimensions, and is content to base his prediction on one single Keynesian proposition which is meaningless without the refinements Keynesians invariably give it. Throughout, in short, his economics are "simple" if not propagandist and hence unconvincing. He *may* have a case, but it is not one that can be made by assertion and reiteration of assertions. Finally, it is difficult to understand why he insists that democracy *must* adopt the British system of a Cabinet responsible to a popularly elected parliament, as contrasted with the American system growing out of the division of powers. He writes in total oblivion of the British critics of parliamentary government, especially their objection to the constant accretion of power to the Cabinet at the expense of the parliament. I mean simply that the case is more complex than Mr. Mackay is prepared to admit.

But his really serious error of judgment arises out of his conviction that Europe by federalizing will be "lifted out of the area of battle" between the United States and Russia. Unless federalism can be imagined to transport Europe to the Antarctic, this is unlikely. Its geographical situation will remain unchanged; and on Mr. Mackay's own showing, the political-social system it will, or should, have will not dampen the fires of contention. Even if *Red Star* had not attacked the idea generally and the Interlaken conference specifically, even if the Soviet satellite spokesmen had not attacked the whole program at Rome recently (see the *New York Times*, September 8, p. 2), it would stand to reason that a new, strengthened Western Europe founded on political democracy and Western (that is, right-wing) socialism would be objectionable to the U. S. S. R. A federal Europe will remain a bone of contention, but by federalizing Europe will be strengthened for the ordeal through which it seems doomed to pass. Has devotion to a middle ground in economic policy taken Britain out of the "area of battle"? Has not Britain been forced, reluctantly, and over the objections of Mr. Mackay and others, to incline ever more strongly to the American side, if only because of the democracy which Mr. Mackay so rightly cherishes?

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

Some Recent Novels

TIME WILL DARKEN IT. By William Maxwell. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

THE MOVING STAIRS. By Paul Pickrel. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

MISS GIFFORD'S. By Kathrine Jones. The Exposition Press. \$3.

A LITTLE TEA, A LITTLE CHAT. By Christina Stead. Harcourt, Brace, and Company. \$3.75.

FIRE IN THE MORNING. By Elizabeth Spencer. Dodd, Mead and Company. \$3.

TO ME, "Time Will Darken It" is the least satisfying of Mr. Maxwell's novels. His greatest power, the ability to recreate the pangs and joys of childhood and adolescence, made "They Came Like Swallows" a very moving book. It did not, however, save the tender account of adolescent passion in

"The Folded Leaf" from a blown-up quality, the result of an intrusive semi-philosophical commentary not necessary to the fiction; nor from a conclusion—although this is a minority opinion—false in terms of the rest of the book. "Time Will Darken It" has the same power and the same faults. Mr. Maxwell recaptures perfectly his Illinois town in 1912. His small-town parties, his junkets into the countryside are excellent. His family groups are done in the best genre style. He makes the perfectly sound point that, in naive good faith and desiring to hurt no one, a man can commit an error in judgment which will involve him and his family in a holocaust. But there is too much abstract talk about this and about other matters not strictly relevant. Too much comes right in the end, although in terms of the first two-thirds of the novel everything should have gone wrong. The central figure is such a ninny that the importance of the theme is blurred. The adolescent girl whose crush on him causes his near ruin and her permanent disfigurement is so impertinent and endlessly talkative that any sensible man would have spanked her and sent her packing if, like our hero, he was not in love with her. This could have been a very good novel about that painful adolescent phenomenon, the crush. Instead, it is tender, reminiscent, sensitive.

Still, it is better than Paul Pickrel's excursion into adolescence and the small town. "The Moving Stairs" is an entirely predictable work. They are all here, just as one would expect—the nice old Grampa, the enchanting but morally irresponsible mother of the solemn heroine, the futile town intellectuals, the solid farm boy who will get the solemn heroine. The action goes on in the dream world which some adults invent when they think of childhood. It is a world which takes no serious account of the harsh facts of growing up.

"Miss Gifford's," by Kathrine Jones, is inept—often embarrassingly so. Set in a genteel South Boston boarding-house,

it follows closely the general pattern of "The Passing of the Third Floor Back" except that the Christ figure marries the heroine, a tedious neurotic. Yet this novel has been praised by Marianne Moore, who surely knows what she is talking about. Perhaps she admired what I find alternately annoying and touching, the delicate gentility—a frayed gentility, although one can never tell whether the author is aware of the fraying—which pervades it, and the sensitivity in the observation of surfaces. But the concern with manners and with objects is so great that the author never really penetrates her characters.

There is nothing inept about the writing in Christina Stead's "A Little Tea, A Little Chat." The style is what is known as "rapid-fire," so rapid that there is more plot in the first twenty pages than in the whole of "War and Peace." This picture of a shyster, sexual and financial, against a background of New York skulduggery, differs from a nightmare only in lacking the meaning which any respectable nightmare should have. As far as I can tell, Miss Stead believes that if one sets down everything that happens to one's hero one has done one's duty as a novelist.

Elizabeth Spencer's "Fire in the Morning," praised by Robert Penn Warren and Eudora Welty, is, to be trite, a promising first novel. The chief virtue of this tale of a two-generation vendetta in a Southern town is that Miss Spencer has something to say—the simple if not original proposition that evil is no remedy for evil—and that her fiction gives life to this proposition. As Miss Welty observes on the jacket, Miss Spencer seems completely at home in the world of her novel. But, at this point in her writing, she is heavily influenced by Carson McCullers, by Eudora Welty, perhaps by Truman Capote. Southern Gothic may, I suspect, be as bad an influence for young writers as Kafka is or as Hemingway used to be. The book, however, is entertaining, sensitive, and skilful; and if one were igno-

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rant of the younger Southern school, it would appear startlingly original.

ERNEST JONES

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

IN "The Schubert Reader: A Life of Franz Schubert in Letters and Documents" by Otto Erich Deutsch, excellently translated by Eric Blom (Norton, \$10), we are given every known document—letters, diaries, publishers' announcements, programs, press reviews, government records—concerned with Schubert, and notes after each document supplying necessary information about its contents. The book contains all the material out of which any biography would have to be made; but that material is so full and continuous as to constitute in itself a biography requiring nothing more to be complete, illuminating, and touching.

Illuminating, for example, is the material which shows that what has been inferred from Schubert's poverty and early death—that he was another illustration of the melancholy fact that great composers are not recognized by their contemporaries—is as incorrect in his case as in those of other great composers. Professor Deutsch contends in a note that Beethoven's last quartets "were at that time [1828] appreciated by few even of the master's admirers"; but we read of their being performed and published at that time—which is evidence that Beethoven's greatness was recognized. And Mozart did die at thirty-five of sheer exhaustion from poverty and overwork; but these resulted not from the public's failure to recognize his greatness, but rather from his own lack of skill—whether he was dealing with a French duke who didn't pay him for his daughter's lessons, or an Austrian emperor who paid him only half the salary he had paid Gluck, or a manager who paid him only half the customary fee for an opera, or a publisher who

paid him nothing for some quartets—in manipulating the musico-economic machinery of the period to convert the public's appreciation into the money that would have kept him from dying wretchedly at thirty-five.

Schubert was poor all his life, and especially hard-pressed the few months preceding his death; but he never suffered privation; and if his body was weakened in its resistance to the typhus of which he died it was by the venereal disease of a few years before. Nor was his poverty caused by lack of appreciation of his work. From the start his songs and piano pieces were admired by a group of devoted personal friends, in whose homes there were given, throughout his life, the private concerts of his music called "Schubertiaden." The celebrated singer Vogl, who took part in these concerts, also made the songs known to the general public, as did other singers; and while one of them, Anna Milder, might regret that these beautiful songs were not suitable for the crowd that "wants only treats for the ear," they evidently had enough appeal for publishers to publish them—this being more significant than the fact that they paid Schubert too little for them. His Piano Sonata Opus 42, in 1826, and his Sonata Opus 78, in 1827, were reviewed at length and with admiration of his powers in the Leipzig *Allgemeine Musikzeitung*; by 1825 it was worth while for a publisher to put on sale an engraving of one whom he described as "the composer of genius, sufficiently well known to the musical world"; in 1828 the Vienna correspondent of the Dresden *Abendzeitung* referred to "the inspired Schubert" whose "name already resounds from all lips." By that time publishers whom he had approached earlier with little or no success were asking him for works. True, they didn't pay him enough for them; but he was only thirty-one, still at the beginning of his career, and beginning also to produce works of a new stature and power like the C major String Quintet and Symphony; and it seems probable that if he had lived to continue the career that was barely picking up momentum and to produce additional works of that stature and power, he would in a few years have reached the point of being able, like Beethoven, to command proper compensation from publishers.

Touching are some of Schubert's own statements in his letters and diary. For example, his description of the unhappiness of "a man whose health will never be right again . . . whose most brilliant hopes have perished, to whom the felicity of love and friendship have nothing to offer but pain, whom enthusiasm . . . for all things beautiful threatens to forsake," in a letter written at the time of the venereal sickness that may have been one of the reasons for the melancholy which clouded his normal cheerfulness in the remaining years of his life. Or his statement after a visit to Graz that he "cannot as yet get accustomed to Vienna," which is "empty of cordiality, candor, genuine thought, reasonable words, and especially of intelligent deeds. There is so much confused chatter that one hardly knows whether one is on one's head or one's heels, and one rarely or never achieves any inward contentment." Or the very last note: "I am ill. I have eaten nothing for eleven days and drunk nothing, and I totter feebly and shakily from my chair to bed and back again. . . . If I ever take anything, I bring it up again at once. Be so kind then, as to assist me in this desperate situation by means of literature"—that is, of Cooper's novels, which he was reading.

Touching also is the picture of him created by all the material in the book—of a man of childlike affection, candor, and loyalty, sociable, modest about his achievements, incapable of envy or bitterness. Only one letter describes him as something more: Anton Ottenwalt, whom he visited in Linz, wrote afterwards of a conversation one night in which "I have never seen him like this, nor heard: serious, profound, and as though inspired. How he talked of art, of poetry, of his youth, of friends and other people who matter, of the relationship of ideas to life, etc.! I was more and more amazed at such a mind, of which it has been said that its artistic achievement is so unconscious, hardly revealed to and understood by himself, and so on." Ottenwalt did not quote any of Schubert's statements on this occasion; and no statement attributed to him in all the other documents of this book gives any indication of the powers and insights we know he possessed only through the evidence of his last great works.

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Letters to the Editors

Form vs. Substance

Dear Sirs: The limited exchange of views in your pages by Paul Blanshard and Robert Fitzgerald has been one of the most interesting things to appear in *The Nation* in years. Let me say that as one who believes the Catholic church to be one of the most dangerous social and cultural forces in the Western world today, I heartily disliked the tone of Mr. Blanshard's articles and wished I did not have to believe that most of his facts and conclusions were reliable. On the other hand, I thoroughly enjoyed the quiet, beautiful prose of Mr. Fitzgerald's "rebuttals" and respected his sincerity, his integrity, and his humility. For this unavoidable paradoxology I make no excuse. I am sure the angels are just as troubled as I am, having Mr. Fitzgerald on their side but finding themselves ranged with Mr. Blanshard's cause. Mr. Fitzgerald's Catholic church seems to be a special and lovely creation, a rather lonely, late flowering of the finest elements of the great institution of the past. The spectacle is deeply moving. Would that it mirrored the actuality of the Catholic church, and the world, today!

JOHN PARKE

Middletown, Conn., September 15

I Slap Your Back— You Slap Mine

Dear Sirs: The Associated Press reported from Cairo some weeks ago that according to the Arabian newspaper *Almisri* President Bechara el Khouri of Lebanon has awarded a medal of merit to Francisco Franco. *Almisri* added that Franco had returned the compliment by giving Spain's Cross of Charles VI to the Lebanese President.

This exchange of decorations is not the only token of the new alliance of the two dictators. It will be recalled that President el Khouri's representative to Unesco has asked the executive committee of that body to admit Spain to the Unesco meeting in Beyrouth in October.

Who is Generalissimo Franco's new friend? It is worth looking into.

Once upon a time there was a peaceful little country of one million souls, called the Lebanon. This republic, the heir of ancient Phoenicia, became the stake in a dispute between Britain and France. During their quarrel, and with

the support of Britain's representative, General Spears, Bechara el Khouri became Lebanon's President. He immediately outlawed all parties but his own, put all his relatives and friends in political command posts, and merged the state treasury with his personal treasury. His incipient dictatorship was put to the test, however, by the Lebanese constitution, which compels the President to hold legislative elections every four years and bars him from running for reelection in the Presidential vote that follows. Bechara el Khouri met the challenge bravely. When the opposition piled up a great majority in the legislative elections of May 25, 1947, he suspended publication of the election results and issued, instead, a list of the deputies he had appointed. A year later his stooge legislature was invited to modify the constitution, and promptly complied, thereby authorizing the reelection of a President. Then the Parliament granted Mr. el Khouri a second six-year term of office, even though his first term had a year to run.

His triumph nearly complete, Lebanon's dictator lacked only international notoriety. To gain this he needed a war and an axis. So the President, much against popular desire, sent his army off to fight the Jews. And looking through "Who's Who," he found the only remaining dictator—one with whom he could form an alliance without displeasing the British. Then he sent Franco the medal of merit of the Lebanon.

JAMES MORGAN

Paris, September 10

A Cheerful Surprise

Dear Sirs: I was very much interested in Mr. del Vayo's article in *The Nation* of September 11 about the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. It was cheerful for a change to read that something constructive is going on.

In his last paragraph Mr. del Vayo expressed regret that the commission's work is not being given the attention it deserves by the press, and he reported Geneva correspondents as saying that they regularly cover the activities of the E. C. E. but that their stories are killed in the home office. I was therefore surprised and pleased when I opened my *New York Times* this morning to find that the leading article in the Magazine Section was an enthusiastic account of

the E. C. E. and its work by Michael L. Hoffman. The title was "They Show That Nations Can Cooperate."

A. L. JONES

New York, September 12

Ludecke: A Fuller Statement

Dear Sirs: Your issue of September 4 contains two letters on the Ludecke case, one signed by me and the other a reply by Clifford Forster, in which he states that my letter is "legalistic," that my "comments on Ludecke's character" are, "of course, irrelevant," and that my "support of the decision" is "somewhat colored by the unsavory background of the individual involved."

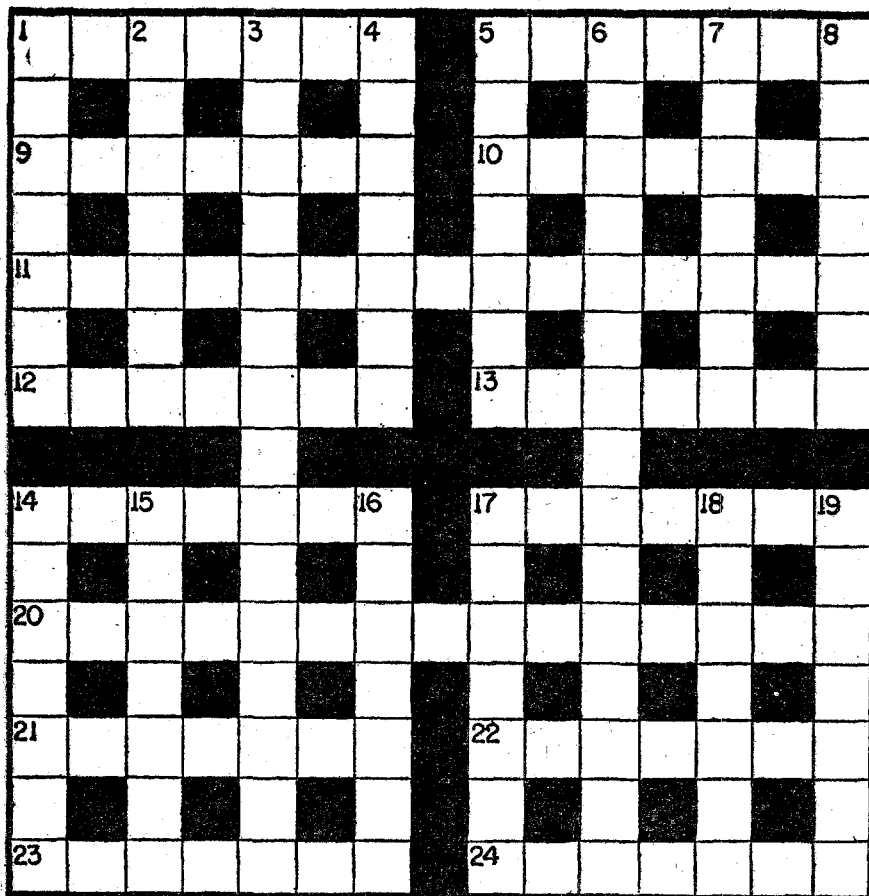
I do not wish to quarrel here with Mr. Forster, although it grieves me to find that he still does not seem to know what the Ludecke case decided. I am writing now only because the point of my letter did not emerge clearly in the abridged version printed by *The Nation*. Its purpose was not to "support" the Ludecke decision but simply to correct the misstatements of fact and law appearing in the editorial note in the August 14 issue of your magazine.

The court upheld the deportation, after cessation of hostilities, of an enemy alien who had been lawfully interned during the "shooting" war. The editorial note erroneously implied, however, that the decision extended to all aliens, whether enemies or not, and in time of peace as well as war. Ludecke, a Nazi agent who had made the mistake of joining the Röhm-Strasser clique, was described as a reformed Nazi who went to a concentration camp because of his opposition to Hitler. I thought it important that your readers should know exactly what it was that the court decided; they could then judge for themselves whether the decision involved a dangerous threat to civil liberties. I did not argue, as Mr. Forster suggested, that the decision was right because Ludecke was a Nazi; nor did I contend that the Bill of Rights should not apply to alien enemies. Deletion of portions of my letter made it look, however, as if I were making such an argument—thus giving Mr. Forster a straw man he could easily knock down.

Since the editorial expressed concern over the "civil liberties" implications of the decision, my letter attempted to put the matter in proper perspective. I had

Crossword Puzzle No. 280

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 A notice for a monkshood. (7)
- 5 Wind. (7)
- 9 Such writings are not necessarily found in tombs. (7)
- 10 The common killer gets a few grains and returns to eat. (7)
- 11 Tops, when it comes to ships (but not particularly good buildings). (15)
- 12 There's little science to the foes of the Israeli. (7)
- 13 Reads, by purposes of extreme changes of 11. (7)
- 14 Fine, thin, and white. (7)
- 17 Where one puts one's trust when the circuit's loaded. (7)
- 20 Novel part of the wedding ceremony. (2, 4, 3, 2, 4)
- 21 In my shoes, one wouldn't want such beatings either! (7)
- 22 It wasn't the explorer who sold jewels. (7)
- 23 Looks rather commonly for dangers (in the barnyard, perhaps). (7)
- 24 Walker might have received such instructions, when young? (7)

DOWN

- 1 How one behaves around a Mediterranean island. (7)
- 2 Washingtonians must find this a capital place to live. (7)

- 3 Obviously it isn't money received for outside work. (8, 7)
- 4 Speak of a sort of sex around it! Sets one on fire, of course! (7)
- 5 Political rail-sitter, rather than splitter. (7)
- 6 Golf, rather orthodox! (1, 6, 2, 6)
- 7 Perhaps exiles sported a sort of this. (7)
- 8 Is found in intermissions. (7)
- 14 Animal perched on a fallen tree. (7)
- 15 One of the last things to be written about in American literature. (7)
- 16 Any body has this car? No, quite the contrary! (7)
- 17 Charges. (7)
- 18 There are a lot of these tales in the Empire State. (7)
- 19 Sorry! Press the bottom! (7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 279

ACROSS:—1 ODDFELLOW; 6 PESTS; 9 HENCE; 10 GUERRILLA; 11 ELECTRIFY; 12 REMIT; 13 GRIPS; 15 POPPYCOCK; 18 MINSTRELS; 19 LIENS; 20 RIDER; 22 DAYBREAKS; 25 CRESCENDO; 26 DRIVE; 27 SISAL; 28 OUTSIDERS.

DOWN:—1 OCHRE; 2 DANDELION; 3 ERECT; 4 LAGNIAPPE; 5 WEEDY; 6 PORTRAYAL; 7 SALEM; 8 SWASTIKAS; 13 GIMCRACKS; 14 SATIRICAL; 16 PUSSY-FOOT; 17 OPERATIVE; 21 DIETS; 22 DINGO; 23 RADII; 24 STEPS.

a paragraph describing the history and objectives of the Alien Enemy Act of 1798 and the manner in which it has been administered through three major wars. I pointed out that in December, 1941, there were about 1,000,000 alien enemies in this country; after investigation, less than 8,000 were interned, and the great majority of these were released soon after V-J Day. In carrying out the President's proclamation directing the removal of enemy aliens "dangerous to the public peace and safety," the Attorney General set up careful procedures for weeding out the hard core of Nazi agents and fanatics whose activities in the United States might jeopardize our security. This task was not performed lightly or by star-chamber methods. The cases were investigated and reinvestigated, and removal orders were entered in about five hundred cases, including Ludecke's. Each of these aliens had at least one hearing and most of them three or four; and a panel of lawyers carefully reviewed each case before a final order was issued.

The deletion of this paragraph eliminated the basis for my argument that the dangers to civil liberties which *The Nation* and Mr. Forster find in the Ludecke decision are largely imaginary and hypothetical. PHILIP ELMAN
Washington, September 8

International Correspondence

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standing and intellectual enrichment would be an international correspondence society which would begin first with Britons and Americans and ultimately spread to the Continent and Asia. Consequently, if there are any readers of *The Nation* or others who would care to correspond on political and cultural matters with Britons of liberal outlook, I would very much appreciate it if they would submit their names to me at 1201 Michigan Avenue, Evanston, so that a pool might be formed here paralleling that formed in Great Britain through the *New Statesman and Nation* and the *Tribune* by my British colleagues.

RAY J. KINDER
 Evanston, Ill., September 10

James Joyce's Letters

Dear Sirs: The administrators of James Joyce's estate have agreed that an edition of his letters should be prepared, to be published in the United States by the Viking Press and in the British Empire by Faber and Faber. The editor of the letters will be Stuart Gilbert.

The publishers will be grateful if anyone possessing letters from James Joyce will either lend them for copying or send photostat copies of them. Letters can be sent to the Viking Press, 18 East Forty-eighth Street, New York 17, N. Y., or to Faber and Faber, 24 Russell Square, London, W.C.1, according to the convenience of the owner. Original letters will be returned immediately after copying.

HAROLD GUINZBERG,
 Viking Press
 New York, September 16

CONTRIBUTORS

ROLFE HUMPHRIES is the author of several books of poetry. The most recent is "Forbid Thy Ravens."

GEORGE SOULE is the author of "America's Stake in Britain's Future" and other books. He will publish "Introduction to Economic Science" this fall.

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ERNEST JONES is a member of the English Department at Queens College.

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